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ABSTRACT

This document is the final technical report of a study concerned with career transitions of women in professional occupations. The report was written to examine: (1) distinctive factors in women's career development related to their occupational concentration in typically female occupations; (2) midlife career transitions in general and in selected typically female occupations; (3) alternative career transition types and their consequences; (4) future trends in the female labor force; and (5) 12 programs which facilitate women's career transitions. Part one examines critical elements in women's prior work and home lives which may compel a midlife career transition. Part two examines in detail the available data on midlife career transitions of women. A detailed analysis of alternative career transition types and their consequences is presented in part three. Part four examines future trends in the female labor force and part five incorporates a survey of programs promoting career transitions for women into the report. Part six describes two basic findings of the report and concludes with a set of policy and program recommendations on how women can benefit from opportunities for career transitions created by technological, economic, and demographic changes to improve their social and economic standing. (NB)

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This document is the final technical report of the work specified under the statement of work for the Wellesley College Center for Research on Women study of "Career Transitions of Women in the Professions" (Contract No. J-M-3 0173). This technical report represents a socioeconomic review of important factors in the career transitions of professional women aged 35-54.

The focus of this technical report is on the dimensions, patterns and actual workings of the career transitions of mature women in professional occupations. We have defined career transition to be both moves within a given occupation and moves from one occupation to another. Mature women are defined as the female age cohort between 35 and 54. Professional occupations are defined as those requiring a college degree. The socioeconomic framework of this technical report is an analysis of the role that career transitions play in altering the work lives of contemporary women in response to and in conjunction with technological, economic, and demographic changes and the potential career transitions may have in narrowing the persistent gap between men and women's earnings.

The objective of this report is to examine:1) distinctive factors in women's career development related to their occupational concentration in typically female occupations; 2) midlife career transitions in general and in selected typically female occupations; 3) alternative career transition types and their consequences; 4) future trends in the female

labor force; and 5) twelve programs which facilitate women's career transitions. The report will conclude with a set of policy and program recommendations on how women can benefit from opportunities for career transitions created by technological, economic, and demographic changes to improve their social and economic standing.

The methodology used in constructing the report consisted of a review of the literature on women's career transitions and career development, specifically focusing on the changing demand for traditionally female professions, analyses of available data on women's career transitions and future trends affecting the female labor force, and a descriptive survey of twelve programs which represent the state of the art in facilitating mature women's career transitions.

To summarize briefly, our research found that the profile of the average career transitioner in the early 1980s was a white, 37-year-old, middle-class woman with a bachelor's degree who lives in or near a large city and is married with children between the ages of 6 and 18. Additionally, a growing number of career transitioners are the "trailing" spouse in a dual career family now relocating to a new community because of a spousal transfer. Single women changing careers comprise about one fifth of the transitioners, while divorced, separated, and widowed women were approximately one third.

In Parts One and Two of this report, we examine aspects of women's work histories which explain the growing number of career transitioners in the female labor force. In Part One, the focus is on "Distinctive Factors in Women's Career Development." This chapter examines critical elements in

women's prior work and home lives which may compel a career transition in midlife away from limited opportunity, to low paying jobs where the majority of mature professional women are concentrated. A rational/economic decision-making model is utilized to explain the means by which employers and families assign women to the role of secondary wage earners and the consequences of that role for women's occupational status and earning potential.

In Part Two, available data related to "Career Transitions of Middle-Aged Women" are examined in detail. Section A presents aggregate-level data on trends in occupational change related to gender and age, as well as data on reasons given for job changes which explain the phenomenon of career transition in greater detail. Because college-educated women in the 35-54 age cohort are concentrated in a few female-dominated professions, the need for career transitions in the four major female professions--teaching, nursing, library science, and social work--are analyzed through a presentation of trends for future employment and the changing age composition in these fields. Available evidence of career transitions from these fields is also evaluated. Results of the analysis show that among the four major female professions, only one--teaching--required a significant number of career transitions by its practitioners. The other three, social work, library science, and nursing, are occupations where real growth is expected in the future or which currently offer employment opportunities. Section C provides information on women's career transitions from large-scale studies. Results of these investigations point out that at the aggregate level, women's occupational

mobility rate has been accelerated in the last two decades, surpassing men's mobility rate. This surge in women's occupational mobility is due in part to large numbers of women entering the labor force as new entrants who traditionally change jobs more frequently than seasoned workers, in part to being concentrated in jobs where there has historically been a high rate of turnover, and also in part due to the greater acceptance afforded women in recent years for moving into better-paying and more appealing work. In contrast to white and Hispanic women who show high occupational mobility rates, black women show longer job tenure and lower occupational mobility rates. These racial/ethnic differences of the 35-54 cohort are attributed in large part to black women having been in the labor force longer than Hispanic or white women and having fewer opportunities for change.

In Part Three, we present a detailed analysis of "Alternative Career Transition Types and their Consequences." Section A examines three types of career transitions--1) different occupation/same employer; 2) same occupation/different employer; and 3) different occupation/different employer--for their income and occupational status outcomes for mid-life women's careers. The results show that for women in professional/managerial occupations, different types of career transitions have no impact either on wages or occupational status attained post-transition. In Section B, unemployment as an antecedent in women's career transitions is examined and the consequences of such involuntary job leavings for women's occupational status and earning potential are discussed. In contrast, Section C focuses on the consequences of voluntary job leavings because of childrearing or accompanying a transferred spouse

which are particularly characteristic of the work histories of women now middle-aged. Available data show that there is no effect on wages in subsequent work that could be attributed to number of weeks of intervening unemployment among women involuntarily out of work. However, consequences of voluntary withdrawal from the labor force for childrearing or to accompany a relocating spouse generally have a negative impact on women's career development.

Part Four examines "Future Trends in the Female Labor Force." Trends in the female labor force are analyzed in this section in order to determine: 1) whether expected changes will increase or decrease the role of career transitions in work lives of middle-aged women; and 2) which occupations offer the best promise for career transitioners. The major findings are that women's presence in the labor force is expected to grow faster than the labor force as a whole. Given recent trends for women's more continuous labor force participation and greater longevity, the average working woman can expect to work 30-40 years outside the home. Women's increased participation in the labor force will coincide with the transformation of the work force away from the production of goods to the production of services. Since college-educated women, the focus of this study, have historically predominated in service related professions, there is every expectation that the future will bring ample opportunities for career transition in their work lives.

Part Five incorporates a "Survey of Programs Promoting Career Transitions for Women" into this report. In Section A, twelve programs that exemplify alternative strategies for promoting women's career

transitions are described. Section B reviews the common themes of these programs and discusses the means by which successful career transition is achieved. The common themes are an encouraging and supportive group environment and resources to equip the career changer with realistic and highly refined new skills for self-marketing. Next, three key elements of a successful career transition program are discussed. These are: 1) services to individuals embarking on a career change (personal growth and confidence building, skills and knowledge enhancement, and successful self-marketing techniques); 2) services to corporations who will hire mature, professional female career changers; and 3) services to the family and spouse during the career transition process.

The report concludes with Part Six which presents our "Findings and Recommendations." This section describes two basic findings of the report. They are: 1) that given technological, economic, and demographic trends which are pulling women into the labor force in increasing numbers and for longer periods of time, career transitions will become a more frequent and anticipated aspect of the average woman's work life; 2) that the state of the art career transition programs include services to three constituents: the individual career transitioners, corporations which hire them, and the transitioner's family and spouse.

A set of recommendations are included, designed to insure that the increased rate of career transitions which we predict will characterize mature women's professional lives will be beneficial to them and to society at large. The recommendations focus on the following needs for: 1) more information on how best to achieve large-scale career transitions from a

declining occupation; 2) greater access of women of diverse backgrounds to succeed in career transition opportunities; 3) support and recognition for employers who advance the careers of mid-life women, and 4) basic research on the consequences of family relocation on mid-life women's professional careers.

CAREER TRANSITION OF WOMEN IN PROFESSIONS

Introduction

Career transitions will be an increasingly important mechanism of women's career development over the next twenty years. Since the turn of the century, the average life expectancy of an American women has increased by almost thirty years (Bureau of the Census, 1984). Over the last twenty years, women have increasingly devoted those additional years to paid labor force participation (Women's Bureau, 1983). As women's attachment to the labor force increases and technological change makes some jobs obsolete and creates others, the need for career transitions in women's work histories will grow. Career transitions are now important mechanisms for women re-entering or newly entering the work force. Career transitions will also become important mechanisms for advancement in an occupation, and for transfers between occupations, hence assume added importance as career developmental turning points. Over a work life which may extend 30-40 years, the average woman may therefore expect to experience several career transitions as technological innovation and personal growth alter the shape of her career.

Career transitions also have special implications for the work lives of contemporary American women aged 35-54. Career transition in midlife holds considerable promise for improving women's earning potential. Because most women workers in this age cohort are concentrated in low-paying careers with limited opportunity structures, the movement of women

into careers with higher pay and potential for advancement may considerably reduce sex segregation and gender-based pay inequities in the U.S. labor force. As Norwood (1984) observes:

> The earnings of women are generally lower than the earnings of men. And an important element in this difference is that women continue to work in jobs that have traditionally been female intensive rather than in other jobs (Norwood, 1984, p. 3).

The process of career transition is particularly important for improving the earning potential of women aged 35-54. This cohort came of age before the second wave of the feminist movement significantly expanded opportunities for women in education and in occupations previously reserved for men. As a result, individual women in this cohort may be foreclosed from good jobs by such factors as obsolete or irrelevant training, long periods spent at home raising children, work histories disordered by husband's relocations, by significant periods of unemployment, or by their work experience in female-dominated occupations only. Career transitions may offer these women a means to reenter the labor force into better-paying jobs, to move from dead-end jobs to those with better opportunity structures, or to advance into management positions in their current occupations.

The focus of this technical report is the examination of the actual workings of the career transitions of mature women in professional occupations. We have defined career transition to be both moves within a given occupation and moves from one occupation to another. Mature women are defined as the female cohort between the ages 35 and 54. Professional occupations are defined as those requiring a college degree. The

socioeconomic framework of this technical report is an analysis of the role that career transitions play in altering the work lives of contemporary women in response to and in conjunction with technological, economic, and demographic changes and the potential career transitions may have in narrowing the persistent gap between men and women's earnings.

The objective of this report is to examine 1) distinctive factors in women's career development related to their occupational concentration in typically female occupations, 2) midlife career transitions in general and in selected typically female occupations, 3) alternative career transition types and their consequences, 4) future trends in the female labor force, and 5) twelve programs which facilitate women's career transitions. The report will conclude with a set of policy and program recommendations on how women can benefit from opportunities for career transitions created by technological, economic, and demographic changes to improve their social and economic standing.

PART ONE: DISTINCTIVE FACTORS IN WOMEN'S CAREER DEVELOPMENT

Beyond the fact that approximately 10 percent of working men and women change occupations every year (Rytina, 1983), women's midlife career transitions are of particular interest. Employed women are typically concentrated in traditionally female occupational fields where both the salary and advancement opportunity structures are limited. To the extent that midlife women are able to make transitions from low-paying and low-opportunity jobs into better paying and higher opportunity careers, their earning potential may significantly improve (see Frank, 1978).

Section A: Continuity and Discontinuity in Women's Work Histories

Among the majority of working women aged 35-54 today, patterns of career development include combining full-time or part-time paid work with periods of voluntary and involuntary job leaving. A minority of women have never worked for pay outside the home. Another minority of working women have worked continuously with only involuntary interruptions (Martin & Roberts, 1984). We suggest that women's concentration in typically female occupations is integrally linked to factors responsible for such discontinuous employment patterns found among the majority of working women. Many issues that have little or no bearing on how men's careers shape women's career development on a large scale. Safilios-Rothschild (1979) suggests that from an early age, women, unlike men, have weighed the roles of work and family in their lives and fashioned a compromise between

what seem to be competing roles. As Safilios-Rothschild points out, because women often gave priority to their families, their careers were frequently planned around their family's lives.

This family/work dilemma may be less pressing among younger women whose career choices and preparation may be made prior to the decision to marry or to have a family. However, among women of this report's cohort, family considerations have often played a major role in their self-selection into typically female occupations which are flexible enough to allow them the ease of planning their work lives around their husband's careers and their responsibilities to their children. Flexible jobs such as nursing, secretarial work, teaching, and retailing allow for discontinuity across time and place. A woman can work full-time or part-time, continuously or intermittently, and move from one location to another in these occupations without much threat of becoming unemployable (Long, 1974). Bernard characterizes such career choices that are intended to accommodate family needs as contingency planning (1981). The contingencies are dictated by getting married or remaining single, husband's job mobility, child-care needs, family financial needs, separation, divorce, or widowhood. Many women have structured their work lives along a continuum of contingencies such as being ready to change jobs when their husbands are transferred to another location, to stop working when children are born, or to work full- or part-time when there is financial need. Indeed, Long (1974), in a 50,000 household study of residential mobility of families and women's labor force participation, came to the following conclusion:

> . . .husband's migration influences not only the career development of the wife but also the

> initial choice of career. Such occupations as elementary school teaching, nursing, and secretarial work are traditional occupations of women. They are also fairly readily transferred from one area to another and can be practiced in almost any part of the country. It may be that the geographical transferability of these occupations has played a part in their perpetuation as favorite career choices of women (p. 348).

The higher priority to family considerations given by many women has been attributed to different sex-role socialization. Research points out that most girls are socialized to give priority to the mother/wife role, boys to the bread-winner role (see for example, Areshansel & Rosen, 1980; Hetherington, 1967; Hoffman, 1984; Huston, 1984; Huston-Stein & Higgins-Trenk, 1978; Kagan, 1972; Safilios-Rothschild, 1979; Tittle, 1981). Because the sex-role socialization explanation of women's career choices is so widely known and accepted, we will not reexamine it here. Rather, we will discuss two points of view which have largely been ignored in the psychological literature on women's career development. These points of view emanate from two components of a rational/economic decision making perspective: decision-making by families; and decision-making by employers.

The impetus to family rational/economic decisions is the existence of a sex-differentiated labor market which limits women's access to well-paying, high-opportunity careers so that the average man's earnings will be greater than the average woman's. It is, therefore, economically rational for families to give priority to the husband's career because his work receives greater monetary rewards. If there is a need to care for young children, disabled children, or other dependent relatives, the total family income will suffer less if the wife cuts back on her employment than

if the husband does. Similarly, if the husband receives a transfer offer with a promotion, it is often economically more rational for the woman to leave her employment and risk downward occupational mobility after relocation than for the husband to refuse the transfer (Mincer, 1978). Sandell (1975), who analyzed data from the National Longitudinal Survey on changes in labor market earnings of families over a five year period, (1967-1972) concludes that

> . . . given the jobs held by men and those held by women, the earnings improvement for men resulting from geographic movement is large enough to offset their wives' loss in market earnings (p. 158).

The impetus to employer rational/economic decision making is the assumption that women's labor force attachment is weaker than men's. Employers fear that their training investment in women will be wasted because they see women as more likely to leave their jobs than men. Indeed, aggregate level job tenure data for 1981, analyzed by sex, show the average woman to have 2.5 years on the current job compared to 4.0 years for the average man (Horvath, 1983). Data for 1983 show that the average woman has 3.7 years on the current job while men have 5.1 years (Sehgal, 1984), which represents a slight decrease in the gender gap in job tenure. Aggregate level data such as these which suggest that women bring less return for investment in training than men have been used by employers to discriminate against women in hiring and promotions (Phelps, 1972; Thurow, 1975), thus providing a rational/economic justification for discrimination.

The consequence of rational/economic decision-making by both employers and families is the perpetuation of a vicious cycle of misleading

assumptions about working women. Women in the 35-54 cohort have experienced employers who will not hire, train, and promote women into well-paying, high-opportunity jobs because they believed women were likely to leave work. But in reality women leave work for family reasons because they are not in well-paying, high-opportunity jobs. Women's career development in other than traditionally female occupations is therefore severely limited by these assumptions. Such issues are particularly salient for the cohort under consideration in this report. There is some evidence, however that the picture for younger women is changing. Norwood (1984, p. 3) reports little or no sex difference in job tenure for people under 30, a 1-2 year difference between ages 30-39 and a 5-7 year difference for 40-64 year-olds. Norwood explains this difference as a function of "the extent to which, in the past, women had accommodated their career goals to home and child care" (Norwood, 1984, p. 3). Younger women's behavior in this regard appears to be very different as they marry later and have children without leaving the labor force. However, it is not yet known whether employers' stereotypic assumptions about working women are correspondingly changing.

The fallacy of the assumption that women do not stay on the job as long as men has been examined by Haber, Lamas, and Green (1983) who demonstrated women would not, indeed, do not leave well-paying, high-opportunity jobs more than men. The authors collected data from approximately 21,000 workers who took part in both the January and March 1978 Current Population Surveys. The analysis of job separation rates by sex and income shows that the higher rates for women are due to their

concentration in low-paying jobs in which turnover is typically higher. Haber, Lamas, and Green conclude that,

> Indeed, if women who worked full time were distributed among. . .wage groups in the same manner as men, their separation rate, instead of being 1.6 percentage points higher than the overall male rate, would have been smaller by 1.9 percentage points (1983, p. 23).

In this section, we have discussed the means by which family considerations result in women's employment patterns becoming discontinuous with respect to time and place. Employers' fallacious assumptions that women are more likely to leave their jobs than men has led to discrimination in hiring, training, and promoting women into high-paying jobs. Simultaneously, women's concentration in low-paying jobs has contributed to rational family decisions to sacrifice the wife's career development for the husband's. Many women's career choices, particularly those in the current 35-54 cohort, have been limited and often foreclosed by the interaction of these forces.

Section B: Sex Similarities and Differences in Career Development

In addition to the differential impact of family considerations, women's and men's career development may also differ in relation to orientation to the work role. Taveggia and Ziemba (1978) found that the majority of men's central interests were within their jobs, while the majority of women's interest were outside of work. These authors claim that besides having a different role orientation, many women tend to see the role their occupation plays differently: they see their jobs as contributing more to the common good than do men.

Several other studies have found similar sex differences within the larger "life-role" frame of reference. Greenhaus (1971), Masih (1967), and Lewis (1968) all agree that a career occupies a more central position within the life-role scheme for men than for women. Lewis has concluded that females make "short-term" occupational choices, choose "people-oriented" occupations, and focus more on the working conditions of a job than on its salary potential. These observations have given rise to the following work-orientation stereotypes: men are more ambitious, task-oriented, and work-involved, whereas women are more interested in interpersonal relationships at work. These stereotypes have been used to explain women's lack of career mobility as a function of individual choice rather than as a consequence of job descrimination.

Kanter (1977), however, takes a different view. Rather than explaining women's lack of career mobility in terms of women's greater interest in social relationships, she points out that

> when women seem to be less motivated or committed, it is probably because their jobs carry less opportunity. There is evidence that the jobs held by most women workers tend to have shorter chains of opportunity associated with them and contain fewer advancement prospects (p.159).

Kanter goes on to report that in her study of employees in a large corporation, both women and men who occupied dead-end positions were less interested in work and more interested in their peer support group. She writes, "men with low opportunity look more like the stereotype of women in their orientations to work" (p.161).

Indeed, when we take into consideration situational variables, such as

being in a low-opportunity job we find many similarities in the work orientations and behaviors of women and men. Another situational variable associated with similar work orientations among women and men is occupational prestige. Women's and men's orientations towards their work become more parallel at higher occupational levels. By this we mean that the "higher up" a woman is on the occupational ladder (i.e. the more "prestigious" her occupation is), the closer her work commitment, role view, and placement of work role within her life-role scheme approach that of a man (Diamond, 1971).

Underscoring the similarity in work orientation of women and men in high-prestige occupations is the dual-career phenomenon. Dual-career couples are a recent trend in the last quarter of the twentieth century. What is new about dual-career marriages is not that both partners work, because women and men have always worked (some for pay, others in exchange for goods and services, some outside the family, others in the family). Rather, what is new is that recently a number of women have come to regard paid, non-family work as a significant source of personal identity and satisfaction. As such, these "career" women are realizing, as many men have realized at least since World War II, that their work is a major source of personal fulfillment. The dual-career couple, then, is the union of two people who make a joint commitment to paid work which they pursue for reasons of personal identity and satisfaction in addition to their marital and parental roles within the home (Hall & Hall, 1979; Rapaport & Rapaport, 1971). While no dual-career couple denies the importance of the financial rewards of having two wage earners in the family, both husband's

and wife's orientations to paid work as a source of personal fulfillment distinguish dual-career couples.

Of course, a woman does not have to be in a dual-career relationship to be a careerist. The 1960's, 1970's, and 1980's are witness to a new orientation to work among women, regardless of marital status. Many women are changing jobs and moving into work roles which have traditionally been defined as careers rather than jobs. Even women not experiencing transitions are developing a more careerist commitment to their current work. These changes in commitment to work are difficult to quantify and document. But they have been amply illustrated by anecdotal accounts given by many women in dual-career marriages who have come to see their work to be as important as their husband's (Fields & Erkut, 1983).

Further support for the claim that the higher the occupational prestige, the greater the similarity in men's and women's work orientation comes from the research carried out in the phase of the Women's Career Transitions Project focusing on women in corporations. In interviews with corporate officials throughout the United States, the Wellesley College Center for Research found many qualities and characteristics common to both men and women seeking senior management positions: intelligence, self-confidence, ambition, and competitiveness. Both sexes also demonstrated a commitment to their careers, a positive attitude, good judgment, and the ability to play "the game" of corporate politics that is often of key importance in career advancement (1984).

Further, it appears that age may be a factor in the similarity between men's and women's career development, especially in high prestige

occupations. Brown (1981) points out that women executives under 35 have tended to enter managerial positions via the same routes as their male counterparts. Younger women are much more likely to start their careers as managers and professionals. In contrast, more than half of the women executives, fifty years of age or older, started their careers in either clerical or secretarial positions, and achieved "their success through what appeared to be a mixture of sheer excellence, great staying power, considerable expertise in their jobs, and the fact that certain men in key positions had been prepared to fight for their promotions" (p.67). Brown goes on to add that the younger managers "were raised in a totally different social climate; their access to jobs is different, and their attitudes are quite different from those of previous generations" (p. 68).

Finally, no discussion of sex differences in career development is complete without reference to overt and covert sex discrimination in the career counseling which girls receive in secondary schools (Campbell, 1978), in the climate of post-secondary education (Hall, 1982), and in access to promising careers (Cecil, Paul, and Olins, 1973; Rosen and Herdee, 1974; Simpson, 1970), or to career mobility (Harlan and Weiss, 1981; Heidrick and Struggles, 1980; Kashket, et al., 1974; McCune, 1970). This form of sex discrimination affects women's career development in two general ways. One, most women curtail their career aspirations and foreclose career options in order to adapt to the realities of their limited prospects for employment and career advancement. Two, others, who do aspire to nontraditional careers and to career advancement despite contrary cultural norms, are prevented from realizing their goals. These

factors of sex discrimination also have a direct bearing on women's career transitions. First, discrimination limits the variety of occupations women can move into, channelling most women into "traditional" occupations. Second, it limits women to certain tracks within occupational categories such as support services or personnel work considered more appropriate for women. Third, it limits women's upward mobility and visibility within professions and corporate structures.

As the foregoing discussion on sex differences in career development suggests, there are many differences in the ways women and men experience their work lives, but there are also some similarities. More similarities are found among people in high-prestige occupations, nontraditional occupations, and younger cohorts. While women's recent, unprecedented entry into the paid labor force has been accompanied by a corresponding value change in the "proper role and place" of women, discrimination against women in the workplace still exists. This discrimination directly and indirectly contributes to women's continued labor segregation into typically female occupations which are lower paying jobs with fewer opportunities for advancement. The past decade has been witness to increased female representation in "atypical" careers and career advancement. But these transitions have not yet brought women close to parity with men in paid employment (Norwood, 1984).

PART TWO: CAREER TRANSITIONS OF MIDDLE-AGED WOMEN

A. General Patterns of Career Transitions

To understand middle-aged women's career transitions, we need to examine the phenomenon of occupational change in the more general context of gender and age. The Census Bureau's Current Population Surveys define career transition as being in a different "three-digit" census occupation in January of one year from the occupation reported for January of the previous year (1). Data from Current Population Surveys on one-year occupational mobility in 1966, 1973, and 1978 show that about 1 in 10 of all workers in each year were employed in a different occupation from the previous year (Rytina, 1983, p. 4). The occupational mobility rate for 1981 was slightly higher at 10.5. These mobility rates for all workers are therefore remarkably stable from year to year. Another source of constancy is the effect of age on occupational mobility rates. In the survey years mentioned, it was found that most of the job changes were for people under age 35. Standardizing the mobility rates by age in 1966 and 1981 shows that the slightly higher rate observed in 1981 is almost entirely a result of the larger number of young people in the work force in 1981 than in 1966 (Rytina, 1983). Career transitions therefore are experienced by only a small percentage of the work force in which younger workers predominate. This finding is confirmed by Sehgal (1983) who reports substantial employment stability among older cohorts of American

workers.

Rytina points out that differences in occupational transitions by sex are relatively small compared to age differences. Transition rates for both men and women decline with age. For example, in 1981, occupational transition rates for women aged 25 to 34 was 13.9 percent, but 8.9 percent for women aged 35 to 44 and 5.8 percent for women aged 45 to 54. Corresponding figures for men in the same age groups are 12.4, 7.4, and 4.4 respectively (1983,p.5). Job tenure rates which represent the inverse of occupational transitions follow the same pattern: women have shorter job tenure than men. In 1983, job tenure for women aged 25 to 34 was 3.2 years, but 4.6 years for women aged 35 to 44 and 6.9 years for women aged 45 to 54. For men, the figures in the same age groups were 3.8, 7.7, and 13.2 years respectively (Sehgal, 1984, p. 19).

In the context of age, then, middle-aged women have lower transition rates than younger cohorts of women; in the context of gender women have higher transition rates than men in their age cohort. Whereas a younger worker's tendency to have high transition rates is readily understandable, women's higher occupational mobility rates, that are due to gender, invite scrutiny. Rytina (1983) observes that women's higher transition rates are only partially attributable to the recent influx of women from younger age groups into the labor force. More importantly, as the discussion on women's career development above suggests, the rise in the rate of occupational change for women reflects primarily their continued concentration in jobs where the rate of occupational change has traditionally been high. Secondarily, it reflects some movement by women

from traditionally female occupations to professional and managerial occupations.

Data from these Current Population Surveys also provide some information on reasons people give for changing their occupations. In 1981, close to 43 percent of all workers reported better pay as the most important reason for changing their work. Rytina (1983) reports that better pay is given more frequently than any other reason among all age, sex, race, and ethnic groups except people aged 55 and over who report "other" reasons, which, she presumes, include many cases of retirement from the previous occupation.

For women, better pay is also an important reason for a career transition. As Table 1 demonstrates, better pay is the primary reason for women's occupational changes, although there are significant age differences in the data. The figures show a sharp contrast in the effect of pay incentives for women aged 35-44, 49.2 percent of whom reported changing occupations for better pay, compared to only 36.1 percent of women aged 45-54. Women aged 45-54 were more likely than the younger women aged 35-44 to report changing jobs due to layoffs, dissatisfactions with the job, and reasons classified as "other."

While better pay appears to be a powerful incentive for both men's and women's occupational shifts, length of time spent with current employer operates as a disincentive. In 1981, about 90 percent of all workers who changed occupations had worked with their current employer less than one year (Rytina, 1983, p. 6). Horvath (1983) points out that job tenure is closely related to age: young people tend to change occupations more

Table 1

Reasons for Occupational Change
Among Women Aged 35-54 in 1981

Reasons	Women Aged 35-44	Women Aged 45-54
Better pay, full-time work	49.2%	36.1%
Lost job, laid off	8.8	10.9
Dissatisfied, underutilized	4.9	13.3
Working conditions	11.5	10.8
Other	21.8	24.3
No answer	2.9	4.6

Source: Nancy F. Rytina. Occupational changes and tenure, 1981. In Job Tenure and Occupational Change. U.S. Department of Labor. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1983. Bulletin 2162, p. 6.

frequently than older workers. Thus, the tendency for fewer women aged 45-54 to see better pay as an incentive to change may be due in part to their longer job tenure. On the average, women aged 45-54 had spent 5.9 years with their current employer compared to 3.5 years for women aged 35-44 (Horvath, 1983, p.2).

B. Career Transitions in Typically Female Occupations

The type of profession one is in also has a bearing on career transition rates. Occupations in which large numbers of young people are employed, e.g., clerical and service occupations, have high transition rates. On the other hand, occupations which require high levels of education (professional jobs) or specialized skills and training (crafts) have lower transition rates (Rytina, 1983). In general, career transitions are more common in occupations which require less training (e.g., operatives and laborers), where the skills required are transferable (e.g., clerical work), or where there is high growth (e.g., management jobs for women). In contrast, people tend to stay longer in occupations which require specialized skills and lengthy training (e.g., professional work, crafts), and those with declining employment opportunities (e.g., farming).

An examination of turnover in typically female professions can suggest some future trends in women's career transitions because career transitions in midlife hold considerable promise for improving working women's earning potential. Prominent among the reasons advanced to explain the earnings gap between women and men is women's concentration in low-paying careers with short opportunity structures. The movement of women from

traditionally female careers such as nursing, teaching, and library science and into careers with higher pay and potential for advancement could significantly narrow the persistent earnings gap between women and men.

We have identified the fields of teaching, librarianship, nursing, and social work, all fields in which more than 50 percent of the labor force is female (see Table 2), as a focus for intensive analysis. As the foregoing discussion on the influence of type of work on transition rates suggests, these four typically female professions have characteristics which inhibit career transitions to other occupations. Each requires a high level of educational investment and specialized skills not readily transferred to other fields. A successful career transition from these professions often requires an additional educational investment or significant re-tooling of existing skills.

Teachers

When examining the employment projections in education-related fields through 1995, it is important to consider variations in the size of the school age population. These projections suggest that because of the steadily increasing birth rate since 1976, there will be an increased demand for preschool teachers during the mid 1980's. The numbers of kindergarten and elementary school teachers are also expected to increase during that period as the school age youth move through the early grades. However, not until 1990 will there be an increased demand for upper elementary and secondary teachers.

This recent baby boom has not yet had an appreciable impact on the demand for teachers which has been generally declining for the last two

TABLE 2

WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN

SELECTED OCCUPATIONS
1972 and 1982

OCCUPATIONS	FEMALES AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL EMPLOYMENT	
	1972	1982
Registered Nurses	97.6	95.6
Social Workers	58.6	66.4
Librarians	82.7	83.4
Teachers:		
Prekindergarten and Kindergarten	96.8	98.5
Elementary	85.1	82.4
Secondary	49.6	51.9
Post-secondary	28.0	35.4
Physicians	10.1	13.8
Lawyers	4.0	15.5

Sources:

1982 BLS, Employment and Earnings, January 1983 pp. 65,66.

1972 BLS, Labor Force Statistics Derived from the Current Population Survey: A Databook, Volume 1. Bulletin 2096, p. 651. September 1982.

decades. The following are frequently cited as primary factors in the dwindling demand for teachers. First, overall population figures show a marked decrease in the number of 5- to 17-year-olds between 1971 and 1984. Second, shrinking school budgets have been cut even further because of budget reductions precipitated by such mandatory tax caps as Proposition 13 in California and Proposition 2 1/2 in Massachusetts. A third factor involved is not so much a decline in demand as an imbalanced demand for teachers because of geographical population shifts. One shift has been the continued exodus from metropolitan centers to the suburbs; the other is outmigration from New England, Mid-Atlantic states and the Great Lakes region to the Sun Belt and Rocky Mountain states. Overall, the rise in demand for teachers in regions with a net gain of population does not appear to offset the decreased demands in other regions.

Because the decline in the demand for teachers is a relatively recent phenomenon, it affects new teachers more dramatically than teachers with seniority. This is a direct outcome of collective bargaining agreements which provide job protection on the basis of seniority. To the extent that schools are contractually obligated to respond to the problem of surplus teachers by laying off newer teachers, the existing teacher corps is growing "older" (Murnane, 1981). In addition to the demographic and mandatory tax cap forces that have reduced the demand for teachers, many teachers have voluntarily left their profession because of lack of advancement, poor working conditions, and unattractive salaries in many states. For recent college graduates who have incurred substantial educational debts, entry level salaries in other fields often yield a

greater return on their educational investment.

On the other hand, many middle-aged teachers with seniority are "locked-in" to their tenured positions. A middle-aged teacher who wants to make a career transition by taking advantage of the variety of programs designed to retrain laid-off teachers is at a relative disadvantage. She has to compete with younger teachers who have more recent college degrees and hence a greater familiarity with new technologies such as computing, one of the fields for which many laid-off teachers are being retrained (see DeVries, 1981). Therefore, there are not many opportunities for female teachers aged 35 to 54 to move out of the traditional female occupation of teaching. Those that have been successful have typically made career transitions to personnel and human resource development or sales positions in corporations and in the new technology industries. Many of these teachers, who are in their 40's and have years of teaching experience, have left the profession after inflation eroded their buying power even when they attained the highest pay levels for teachers--generally around $25,000 for a teacher with a master's degree and 15 years of service (New York State United Teachers' Newsclip Briefs, January 4, 1981).

The joint implications of a nationwide decrease in the demand for teachers, seniority rules governing teacher lay-offs, the relative unattractiveness of the profession due to low pay and poor working conditions, and the difficulty middle-aged women have finding suitable employment in other fields are that middle-aged women's representation in the teaching profession is growing. As shown in Table 3, in 1980 there were relatively more 35- to 54-year-old teachers than there were in 1970,

Table 3

Labor Force Participation of the 35-54 year old Female Cohort in Selected Occupations, 1970 and 1980

	Total number of women in occupation		Total number of women in 35-54 year-old cohort		35-54 year-old cohort as percentage of total number of women	
	1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
Registered nurses	807,359	1,214,868	352,314	489,019	44%	40%
Social workers	135,813	310,660*	50,771	107,725*	37%	35%*
Teachers						
Elementary & Pre-Kindergarten	1,285,246	1,892,651	489,971	793,603	38%	42%
Secondary	491,489	479,211	173,930	190,315	35%	40%
Post Secondary	138,063	227,044	52,756	93,472	38%	41%
Librarians	99,851	151,439	41,488	n.a.**	42%	n.a.**

* There were 287,577 women employed as social workers in 1980. Because age-cohort data on social workers alone were not available for 1980, social workers have been grouped with recreation workers in the table.

** Age-cohort data on librarians are not available for 1980.

Sources: U.S. Census of Population, 1970. Detailed Characteristics, United States Summary 1-739, 1-740, 1-763. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, 1972.

U.S. Census of Population, 1980. Detailed Characteristics, United States Summary 1-797, 1-235. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce.

1970 Census of the Population, Subject Report on Occupational Characteristics, Table 3, p. C. (2-714), 1973. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce.

reflecting the altered age distribution in the profession.

As for transitions within the field of teaching, women have had only moderate success in advancing into administrative and management positions in school systems. Female teachers have made only limited inroads into the upper management echelons of the teaching profession as principals, administrators and superintendents (see Schmuck, 1983).

Nurses

Employment projections for registered nurses through 1995 indicate an increased demand for nurses. However, noticeable shortages of generalist nurses were also reported in the 1960's and 1970's. Such shortages did not originate from nurses making a transition to another career, but from an "explosive demand" for nurses triggered by new medical technologies including intensive care, kidney dialysis, and transplants. As a result, there was a maldistribution of nurses by localized areas, by types of nurses, and by work settings, according to a 1982 study by the Institute of Medicine, National Academy of Sciences (NAS, 1982). Indeed, the high level of registered nurses' participation in the labor force (about 76 percent, which is the same rate for college-educated women), suggests that nurses are no more likely to leave their profession than other college educated women (Registered Nurses Population, 1982). During the period 1982-1995, the number of registered nurses is expected to grow by 49 percent, resulting in an additional 642,000 jobs (see Silvestri, Einstein, et.al.,1983, p.45).

The largest group of licensed health professionals in the United

States for which current data on women exist is the category of licensed registered nurses, a profession in which women have traditionally predominated. Although many nurses retain up-to-date licenses while not currently employed or intending to be employed in this profession, licensure is the general sampling criterion for data on nurses. Therefore, such data may not adequately reflect the work histories of some groups of nurses. The 1980 survey of registered nurses with current licenses revealed that 1,662,382 individuals in the U.S. were licensed. Women continue to dominate this profession in which only three percent are men. Nursing is also largely composed of white women; 93 percent of nurses were white in the 1980 survey and only 7 percent (120,000) were racial/ethnic minorities. The survey, which was conducted by the Office of Data Analysis and Management of the Department of Health and Human Services, found that whereas the median age of the registered nurse population is 38.4 years, R.N.'s who are employed in nursing tend to be younger than those who are not. Median age of employed R.N.'s is 36.3 years; for those who are not employed in nursing, the median age was 47 years (The Registered Nurse Population, 1982, p.3).

The relative youth of the employed registered nurse population can be explained either as a function of large numbers of young women entering the field, or as a function of older women leaving the field, or as a combination of both factors. As shown in Table 3, between 1970 and 1980, there was a decline in relative size of the 35 to 54 year old cohort. This suggests that the age distribution in the nursing profession is shifting toward the young. It is clear that more young women are entering the field because

numbers of nurses are increasing; whether many 35 to 54 year olds are simultaneously leaving the field cannot be determined.

Examination of data on employed, licensed, registered nurses reveals that about a third of all registered nurses are employed on a part-time basis. Married nurses with young children make up the majority of the 404,943 part-time nurses of the total 1.7 million employed, licensed, registered nurses in 1980 (Idem, p. 3). About 46 percent of nurses employed in nursing homes and 42 percent in physician/dentist offices are part-time workers. Hospitals report about 31 percent of their nurses are also part-time workers. In the fields of occupational health and public and community health, 15-20 percent of nurses are employed part-time (Idem, p. 5).

The data on the status of registered nurses not currently employed in nursing does suggest a trend toward career transitions in the nursing profession. Of the 388,537 nurses who were not employed in nursing but had current licenses to practice in 1980, 8.4 percent were actively seeking nursing employment, 17.8 percent were employed in non-nursing careers, 36.5 percent were married with children in the home, 30.2 percent were over 50 years of age, leaving only 7 percent who were younger than 50, neither working nor looking for work, and without children in the home (The Registered Nurse Population, 1982, pp.5-7). However, there are no systematic data currently available which can identify specific trends of nurses who have changed careers. Registered nurses who are graduates of 3-year hospital diploma programs and those with a bachelor of science in nursing often return to colleges and universities to upgrade their training

for specialized positions in delivering patient care. Many nurses also augment their educational backgrounds by obtaining bachelor, master and doctoral degrees to enable them to make career changes to teaching and/or administrative positions.

Other career changes of registered nurses include becoming a physician, dentist, optometrist, podiatrist, chiropractor, or lawyer. Some unusual career changes by registered nurses have been generated by the high tech industry as former nurses are attracted to positions of marketing and sales of medical equipment. Additional reports of nurses working in pharmaceutical sales and computer sales to health care providers in hospital and other medical facilities have also been made.

Librarians

Transition opportunities for female librarians appear somewhat limited. The 1982 study of Library Human Resources sponsored by the National Center for Education Statistics and the Office of Libraries and Learning Technologies of the U.S. Department of Education shows that in the 1980's the supply of librarians will be equal to the demand (Van House, Roderer, and Cooper, 1983). The same study points out that most of the demand for new librarians will come from attrition which equaled 8 percent of all librarians employed in 1981. Among those leaving their jobs in 1981, the largest group (37 percent) moved from one library to another. But three-quarters of this group remained within the same type of library. Based on this figure, the authors of the study suggest that there are limited opportunities for librarians to move among different types of libraries (i.e., school, public, academic, special libraries). These

relatively impermeable boundaries around different types of libraries not only block career transition opportunities but are also likely to create spot shortages of librarians. This is especially likely to occur in the specialized libraries whose demand for personnel is expected to be the highest after 1983 (4 percent growth per year, compared to 1 percent in public libraries, 1 percent decline in schools, and a slight but steady decline in academic libraries [p. 370]).

Of those librarians who left their jobs in 1981, 15 percent obtained other employment. In this group is the 9 percent who went to non-library information jobs (Van House, Roderer, & Cooper, 1983). The authors conclude that the non-library information profession holds the biggest career transition promise for librarians as both employers and librarians come to recognize that librarians have valuable skills for managing information in a variety of settings. With the growing importance of the information business, individuals with professional library training are increasingly employed in non-library positions, especially in the private sector.

The alternative librarian, an information broker who owns a business whose product is information, is one such example of a non-library information job.

> Like all librarians, they serve client needs through information giving, referral, counseling, and assessment, but their role is dissimilar in that their product -- information service -- is managed for profit. In essence, the alternative librarian solves information problems: finding information, defining information challenges, organizing information for control and access. Searches for information are carried out by professional staff with subject specialties such

> as medicine, engineering, computer science, economics, and statistics. Support staff handle all typing, report layout and preparation, bookkeeping, filing, scheduling, and some correspondence. Services are paid for directly by the client; however, the client may be an individual, a professional group, a corporation. Opportunities for "alternative librarianship" are limited only by imagination, energy, and capital (Office for Library Personnel Resources, 1977, p. 1).

Given the limited opportunities for career transition within types of library employment and non-library work for librarians, specific factors in the profession which affect women's careers should be noted. In 1982, women made up 83.4 percent of employed librarians (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1983). In Table 2, we see that the percentage of women librarians has not changed appreciably in the decade between 1972 and 1982. While library science has long been and remains a typically female profession, the American Library Association has been cognizant of sex inequities in employment. To this end, in 1979 the A.L.A. commissioned a study of its membership by the Committee on the Status of Women in Librarianship. At the time of the study, women made up 75.8 percent of A.L.A. membership. The authors of the study (Estabrook and Heim, 1980) report that librarianship continues to have a dual career structure for men and women, one that was identified by Bryan in 1952 and again by Schiller in 1974. This dual career structure in librarianship parallels the concentration of women in lower-paying, lower-status jobs found in the larger labor market. Male librarians are concentrated in the "higher" status academic libraries, whereas female librarians predominate in public libraries (Van House, Roderer, and Cooper, 1983). Not only are women more

likely to be employed in the less prestigious libraries, but within all types of library employment women's representation in top level positions (e.g., management categories such as director, department head) is not commensurate with their numbers in the librarian work force. For example, the 1979 A.L.A. membership survey found that 57.8 percent of male respondents reported being in a management position, whereas only 32.7 percent of female respondents were in that category (Estabrook and Heim, 1980, p. 656). The A.L.A. survey also found that male librarians are likely to have higher salaries, to publish more, and to have greater supervisory responsibilities, all of which are positively correlated with each other. However, it was found that gender was a significant predictor of salary even when all other relevant variables are held constant (Estabrook and Heim, 1980, p. 659).

Social Workers

Of the four typically female professions we have chosen to study, only social work shows a marked increase in female employment, from 58.6 percent in 1972 to 66.4 percent in 1982 (see Table 2). Moreover, the numbers of employed female social workers has more than doubled between 1970 and 1980. This increase has been brought about mostly by an influx of younger women, which has reduced the representation of 35- to 54-year-olds among employed female social workers (see Table 3). Thus, rather than a transition away from social work, we are witnessing entry or reentry of women into the profession.

Accompanying this recent rise in the relative and absolute numbers of social workers have been a number of other changes in the practice of

social work. The 1982 survey of the National Association of Social Workers documents that between 1972 (when a similar survey was conducted) and 1982, employment in private practice grew while employment in the public sector declined, and mental health overtook other areas of health and medical care as the largest area of practice (NASW News, 1983a). It is unclear whether the influx of young women into social work was spurred by the rise of private practice opportunities, especially in providing mental health services. That is, we do not know how the supply of social workers has been influenced by the changes in the practice of the profession.

We do have some information on the changes in the demand for social workers, however. James Billups and Maria Julia compared nationally-advertised positions in 1960, 1970, and 1980 (NASW News, 1983b). They found four major changes in job descriptions: job titles, fields of practice, responsibilities, and educational requirements. In terms of job titles, the terms "clinical social worker," "social worker," and titles related to teaching social work accounted for over one-half of all positions advertised in 1980, whereas they accounted for less than one-fourth in 1970, and about one-seventh in 1960. Titles such as "caseworker," "social caseworker," and "group worker" saw a sharp decline over the 20-year period of the study. Titles such as "medical social worker," "psychiatric social worker," and "supervisor" seem to occupy a middle ground. Although less in use now than they were 20 years ago, such titles are more frequently encountered in 1980 than "caseworker" (NASW News, 1983b). Although the authors do not speculate on this point, the movement away from specific titles to the more general and generic title of

"social worker" may signal a greater professionalization of the field which may account for its greater attractiveness to young women.

Regarding changes in job descriptions, Billups and Julia report small increases in two lines of work: social work with the elderly and social work in industry. The recent growth of jobs in these two areas represents growing opportunities for career transition within the profession. An increasing number of jobs with the elderly fits the demographic trend of an aging population, and that trend is likely to stay with us for the foreseeable future. The growth in industry jobs is based not so much on a demographic trend as on changes in the structure of employee assistance programs. To the extent that corporations associate employee productivity with employee well-being, industry-related social work jobs will also continue to grow.

Specific changes in professional responsibility have increased intracareer transition. The primary change involved a shift toward providing indirect patient services in addition to direct services. As direct service positions can lead to job burn-out among social workers, jobs expanded to incorporate both direct and indirect service roles may sufficiently alter the work load so that the job stress associated with the profession is decreased and social worker attrition is reduced.

Billups and Julia also documented a change in the area of educational requirements. The authors found that job advertisements are increasingly requiring graduate level social work degrees and supervised experience. The changes in educational requirements may signal an increased status and greater professionalization of the field and may be responsible for

attracting young women.

C. Information on Women's Career Transitions from Large Scale Studies

In 1980, 9.5 percent of 88.3 million employed workers over 18 changed occupations (Rytina, 1983). As Table 4 below indicates, white women aged 35-54 are more likely to change occupational fields than are white men in the same age group. The same is true of Hispanic women between the ages 35-44. Hispanic women aged 45-54 and black women aged 35-54, however, have lower occupational transition rates than white women and Hispanic and black men in the same age cohorts. It is difficult to explain why white and Hispanic women have higher occupational transition rates than black women in the 35- to 54-year-old cohort. It may be that the majority of white women and the younger Hispanic women are newer entrants into the labor force who are more likely to change jobs. Past instances of racial discrimination may also be an inhibiting factor for lack of job changes of black women. The influx of white women into the labor force is well documented. There may also have been a recent influx of Hispanic women due to the growth of the Hispanic population. Sehgal's (1984) recent study of occupational mobility and job tenure in 1983 confirms Rytina's findings. Sehgal found that job tenure for black women exceeded that of both white and Hispanic women in 1983 and explains the difference as a function of black women's traditionally higher rate of labor force participation. Although her data are not broken down by age cohorts, the length of job tenure of civilians age 25 and over employed in both January 1982 and January 1983 can be seen in Table 5 below. In all

TABLE 4

Percent of Workers Who Changed Occupations, 1977

Age	White		Black		Hispanic	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
30 - 44	8.1	10.2	7.3	4.2	6.7	8.1
45 - 54	4.5	5.6	5.7	1.8	5.5	4.2

Age	ALL	
	Men	Women
35 - 44	7.7	8.0
45 - 54	4.3	4.6

Percent of Workers Who Changed Occupations, 1980

Age	ALL	
	Men	Women
35 - 44	7.2	8.1
45 - 54	4.3	5.4

Sources: BLS, see Occupational Mobility During 1977 - Table 2 (p. 46)
U.S. Department of Labor

BLS, and Job Tenure and Occupational Change, 1981 (p. 5)
Fall 1, U.S. Department of Labor, January 1983
Bulletin 2162

Table 5

Occupational Tenure of Workers Employed
in January 1982 and January 1983

Workers	Occupational Tenure			
	1 year or less	2-4 years	5-9 years	10+ years
White men	8%	20%	22%	50%
White women	11	27	26	36
Black men	9	26	23	42
Black women	9	27	27	37
Hispanic men	11	25	27	37
Hispanic women	11	31	30	28

Source: BLS, see Sehgal, Occupational Mobility and Job Tenure in 1983, U.S. Department of Labor (p. 21).

groups, male rates of occupational tenure are higher than that of women in the category of ten or more years of employment (the category in which men of the 35-54 cohort would primarily be found) in the same occupations. Among women, black and white women's rates are comparable and their occupational tenure rates exceeds those of Hispanic women.

Sehgal also found that the rate of occupational mobility (change in occupation) among women has accelerated over the past twenty years. She noted,

> In 1966, the occupational mobility rate was markedly higher for men than for women. By 1978, and continuing to 1983, the situation was reversed. Over the 1966-83 period, the occupational mobility rate for women 18 and older and not in school increased from 6.8 to 9.9 percent . . . Over the same period, the rate for men did not show any definite trend (1984:21).

In addition, as measured in January 1983, the occupational mobility rate for black women was lower than that of both Hispanic and white women in almost all age groups. Among men, in contrast, Hispanic men had a slightly higher occupational mobility rate than white men, and black men had a considerably lower rate in almost every age group.

Seghal accounts for this historic trend in women's occupational mobility rates as a function of pull factors in the labor market derived from women's ability to obtain better pay and more appealing work because of their increased educational attainment and greater occupational opportunities. She argues that a push factor such as forced change because of a supply/demand imbalance in certain occupations is a less likely explanation of women's occupational mobility.

Of course, as we discussed above in Part One, a major reason for women's overall high occupational mobility rates is their career transition in low paying, low opportunity jobs which have high mobility rates for both men and women (Haber, Lamas, & Green, 1983).

While these aggregate-level data are informative of broad-based trends, individual longitudinal data on women's work histories are necessary for understanding occupational mobility in this cohort. One of the best sources of information on women's career transition comes from the National Longitudinal Surveys. The National Longitudinal Surveys are conducted by Ohio State University's Center for Human Resource Research in conjunction with the U.S. Department of Labor. These surveys originally involved four cohorts: two young cohorts (one male, one female), a mature men's cohort, and a mature women's cohort. The mature women's cohort was based on interviews with a sample of 5,083 women of varying social, economic, and ethnic backgrounds chosen to be representative of all noninstitutionalized, civilian women age 30-44 in the continental United States in 1967. A short mail survey followed in 1968, 1971, 1972, and 1977. By 1977, approximately four-fifths of the original sample remained. The 2,835 white women and 1,072 black women who remained in the sample are reasonably representative of their age range in the United States in 1977 (Shaw, 1983). These surveys are highly illuminating in their heavy concentration on the work lives of their subjects. Information presented in this section is derived from publications related to the surveys (U.S. Department of Labor R & D Monograph #21, entitled Dual Careers, and Lois B. Shaw's Unplanned Careers).

In the National Longitudinal Surveys, the terms typical and atypical are used instead of "traditional" or "nontraditional" occupations. In the mature women's cohort, 79% of all white and 63% of all black women with at least some college education, who were in the labor force at some point between 1967 and 1971, had typical occupations. The highest typicality percentage for black women was in the range of 0-11 years of schooling, but for whites, the highest percentage (the 79% mentioned above) was in the 13 plus years range.

Career atypicality in general increased among the cohort of women who worked both in 1967 and 1971: 26% were in atypical occupations in 1967, compared with 34% in 1971. On the whole, however, despite low pay, few work-oriented rewards, and little chance for advancement, the survey revealed that women are still mostly employed in traditionally female occupations.

The National Longitudinal Surveys also provide us with some information on why middle-aged women changed jobs, who among them were the most occupationally mobile, and how mobile they were. Regarding reasons for changing jobs, the primary incentive was higher wages, as three-fifths of the 1972 labor force participants expressed a willingness to change jobs for better pay. This incentive was especially strong for part-time workers; those who made job changes between 1969 and 1971 received, on the average, higher wages than full-time workers. For example, part-timers who made a transition within the same company received a 20% increase in pay, those who made a voluntary change saw a 26% increase, and those who were involuntary changers received a 14% increase (see Dual Careers Volume IV,

p. 175). Another important incentive was dissatisfaction with one's current job. Between 1967 and 1969, members of this cohort who changed jobs fared better than non-movers both in changes in hourly wage and job satisfaction.

In answer to the question of who is the most mobile, the National Longitudinal Surveys found non-domestic service workers (with a mobility rate of 34%) and professional and technical workers (with a rate over 22%) leading all other categories in occupational transition. Though professional and technical workers have a high mobility rate, the National Longitudinal Surveys' results suggest that their transitions are, to a large degree, within the same role category. In other words, although professional and technical workers have a high job mobility rate, their transition rate to other occupations is fairly low.

PART THREE: ALTERNATIVE CAREER TRANSITION TYPES AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES

It is suggested above that women's career transitions offer the possibility of narrowing the gender gap in wages. To understand the full impact of transitions on women's career opportunities, it is necessary to examine the consequences of different types of career transition. In this section three aspects of carer transitions will be examined for their income and occupational status consequences: alternative types of career transition; career transitions with or without intervening unemployment; and voluntary job leaving.

A. Occupation Only, Employer Only, and Both Employer and Occupation Types of Transitions

The consequences of three types of career transition (occupation only, employer only, both employer and occupation) on different groups of women have been explored by Latack and Shaw (1983) in their analysis of data from the National Longitudinal Surveys of the Labor Market Experience of Young aged 20-34 (1968-1978) and Mature Women aged 35-44 (1967-1977). To examine consequences of career change more closely, the authors restricted the sample to women who had worked at least 26 weeks in five of the eight years for which information on work activity was available from the surveys.

Analyzing data on career transition types by age shows that age has no appreciable impact on occupational change if the employer remains constant (occupation only, the equivalent of an intrafirm transition). On the other

hand, the two types of interfirm transition (employer only change and employer and occupation change) are influenced by age because mature women make fewer interfirm transitions (Latack & Shaw, 1983, p. 12). The same data analyzed by race show essentially similar age-related transition patterns for black and white women. The only exceptions are that black women aged 35-39 and 39-44 at the time of the first NLS interview are more likely to have experienced one or more employer only interfirm transitions, and black women aged 35-39 are more likely to have made both employer and occupation transitions than white women in their age cohort (see Table 6).

Latack and Shaw report that education, initial wages, and number of years worked have an effect on wages and occupational status attained in the ten year period of the surveys. After controlling for the effect of these variables, patterns of career transition do not have an effect on young black women's wages nor on their occupational status (see Table 7). Intrafirm transitions (occupation only) lead to improvements in the occupational status of mature black women and both young and mature white women. But intrafirm transitions have no significant impact on wages. Thus, intrafirm occupational mobility appears to be the most secure way for all groups except young black women to gain occupational prestige. Interfirm transitions of the employer-only type have no significant effect on either wages or occupational status for any group of women. On the other hand, interfirm transitions involving both employer and occupational change have an impact on mature women's wages. Black women aged 35-44 improve their wages by simultaneously changing their employer and occupation, whereas white women of the same age group experience a loss of

Table 6

Percentage of Women Who Made One or More Career Transitions by Age, Race, and Type of Transition

Age	Intrafirm (Occupation only)		Interfirm (Employer only)		Interfirm (Employer & Occupation)	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
20-24	51%	56%	37%	40%	60%	61%
30-39	63	59	31	31	50	49
35-39	56	56	33	27	50	43
40-44	53	56	36	26	40	42

Source: J. C. Latack and L. B. Shaw. "Routes to higher wages and status: An analysis of career mobility among women workers." Unpublished paper. Ohio State University, Center for Human Resource Research, 1983, p. 14.

Table 7

Impact of Career Transition Types on
Wages and Occupation Status
of Women by Race and Age

	Intrafirm (Occupation only)		Interfirm (Employer only)		Interfirm (Employer & Occupation)	
	Wages	Status	Wages	Status	Wages	Status
Black Women						
20-34 (N = 136)	.03	1.02	.00	-.08	-.03	.46
35-44 (N = 397)	.02	1.73**	.02	-.48	.04*	-.14
White Women						
20-34 (N = 379)	-.01	1.87**	-.02	.23	-.03	.49
35-44 (N = 882)	-.00	.87*	-.00	-.20	-.37**	.49

Figures reported are unstandardized regression coefficients obtained after controlling for the effects of wage at first interview, education, and number of years worked. These coefficients can be interpreted as percentage increases (or decreases) in the dependent variables (wages and status) with a unit change in the independent variable.

* p .05
** p .01

Source: Latack & Shaw (1983), pp. 15, 17.

income through employer and occupational transitions (see Table 7).

The differential impact of transitions on the wages of mature black and white women is puzzling. Latack and Shaw speculate that many mature black women may have started in very low-paying jobs and only by changing occupations either with the same or a different employer could they improve their pay. On the other hand, the negative effect on wages of mature white women's employer/occupational shifts could be indicative of their difficulty in finding and keeping satisfactory jobs, either because of some personal characteristics or conditions in local labor markets (1983, p. 16).

Latack and Shaw further analyzed the wage and occupational status consequences of career transition patterns for four groups of occupations: professional and managerial, clerical, sales and service, and blue collar. For women in professional/managerial occupations which is the primary occupational focus of our project, different types of career transitions had no impact either on wages or occupational status after controls were applied for the effects of initial wages, education, and years worked (1983, pp. 21-23).

B. Consequences of Intervening Unemployment

An alternative way to classify career transitions is to focus on whether occupational or employer shifts have been achieved with or without intervening unemployment. Unfortunately, data on the effects on wages of unemployment intervening between career transitions are not readily available for U.S. women beyond the negative findings reported by Latack

and Shaw. In the data set analyzed by Latack and Shaw from the National Longitudinal Surveys, number of weeks unemployed made no significant contribution to wages obtained after career transitions (1983, p. 10).

Theoretical approaches, however, suggest a fruitful way of considering this issue. According to social comparison theory, a person is attracted to outcomes whose value exceeds the value of available alternatives. In other words, a woman who is satisfied with her current job would choose to leave it if a better offer were available because the available alternative is valued higher than her current job. But she would not choose to leave her job for an equivalent or a less attractive offer. Conversely, a woman who does not like her occupation would not leave it until a more attractive opportunity came along.

The implications of social comparison theory for predicting outcomes of career transitions with or without intervening unemployment are that people who move from one occupation to another without intervening unemployment are being attracted by more favorable outcomes: higher pay, better working conditions, more prestige, more opportunity, etc. Without intervening unemployment, there is an element of personal choice involved: the individual is choosing one occupation over another. She already has a job; she is simply looking for a better one. With unemployment, however, there may be few, if any, attractive standards of comparison available because the luxury of choosing the best offer among several attractive offers may not exist. Therefore, other things being equal, we would expect transitions without intervening unemployment to lead to better outcomes.

One important factor which can change the equation is whether the

unemployed woman becomes trained during the period of unemployment in order to qualify for a higher paying and/or more prestigious occupation. Examples of such transition are teachers retraining to become computer programmers and nurses going to medical school to become physicians.

C. Consequences of Voluntary Job Leaving

For many years, it was assumed that women would voluntarily leave the labor force when they married or had their first child. It is now recognized that such a labor force withdrawal carries with it severe economic consequences. Appelbaum (1981, p.40) analyzed two samples from the NLS Survey of Mature Women: white married women with children who stopped working 1) for less than three years or 2) for more than three years (mean length of absence from labor force was 12 years). She found that the more discontinuous pattern of labor force experience had a pronounced effect on the status, as measured by the NLS four point scale, of the job held by women after reentry. She also found that women who originally held medium status jobs are unlikely to advance to more prestigious jobs. Women originally in high status jobs are more likely to experience a decline in job prestige. Only women in the lowest status jobs do not lose job prestige because of labor force withdrawal.

There is also a wage gap among women workers attributable to labor force withdrawal. Appelbaum reports that during the 1970's, the wages of reentry women fell in comparison with wages paid to women with continuous work histories. She found that in 1972, the wages of women who had been out of the labor force for three or more years equaled 90% of the wages

earned by women with more continuous work histories. By 1976, the wage ratio fell to 84%, suggesting an increasing wage differential in reentry women's wages (Appelbaum, 1981, p. 49). Shaw (1983) confirms this trend. She analyzed the NLS data using the Mature Women's Cohort sample and found that the wages of reentry women fell between 1970 and 1977, a time when there was no general decline in wages in the economy. Shaw reports in addition that age differences cannot explain this wage decline because older reentry women did not receive lower wages than younger women.

Job leaving for childrearing is the most prominent domestic reason for women's withdrawal from the paid labor force but it is not the only one. Many women leave their jobs to accompany their transferred husbands. Job-leaving to accompany a spouse is voluntary unemployment because these women are choosing to leave their current jobs but are not out of the labor market. They are unemployed and looking for work in the new location. The wage and occupational status consequences of unemployment due to accompanying one's spouse have not been the focus of any large scale studies. We know from anecdotal evidence, however (see for example, Fields & Erkut, 1983), that many women report difficulty in finding work comparable to the job left in the old location. This problem has induced some corporations to offer spouse employment assistance programs as part of their relocation benefits (see Erkut & Fields, 1984; Johnson, 1984). As more and more families become dependent on two incomes, the consequences for career development of being the accompanying spouse in family relocation will require greater scientific scrutiny.

These career transition types and consequences are particularly

prominent within the work histories of the 35-54 contemporary cohort. As we analyze future trends in the female labor force in the next section and examine exemplary programs that facilitate career transition it is important to note the changing structure of the female labor force and the greater receptiveness to female workers. Given current trends, future cohorts of middle age women may be less vulnerable to the punitive consequences of interrupted work histories.

PART FOUR: FUTURE TRENDS IN THE FEMALE LABOR FORCE

By 1995, the size of the labor force is expected to include 131.4 million workers--38 million more than were projected for the 1982-1995 period by the BLS in 1980 (Fullerton and Tschetter, 1983). These Bureau of Labor statistics projections of labor force participation assume that two processes already transforming the composition of the labor force will continue. In the first, the aging of the labor force, reflecting the occupational maturation of the baby boom generation, will be pronounced. Between 1982 and 1995, there will therefore be a dramatic shift in the age structure of the labor force with the primary working-age group (25-54) increasing from 64% in 1982 to 73% in 1995 (Fullerton and Tschetter, 1983). The aging of the labor force should enhance the labor force participation of women in the 35-54 age group. As the proportion of people between 16 and 24 decreases, there will be fewer first time entrants into the labor force, thus lessening competition for entry level positions. In the second process, the number of women and minorities in the labor force will grow faster than the labor force as a whole. Women are projected to account for about two-thirds of labor force growth in the 1980s and 1990s (Fullerton and Tschetter, 1983).

Thus, women in midlife are expected to become a predominant segment of the labor force during the coming decade. Women between the ages of 20 and 54, which encompass the age cohort targeted in the technical report,

will be a prime source of labor force growth. The increased number of women participating in the labor force can best be explained by the growth in the variety of jobs and opportunities newly available to women, the change in attitudes toward women's employment outside the home, and the increased role of women's earnings as a major portion of the family's income.

Growth of an occupation is closely related to the growth rates of industries in which the occupation is located. The Bureau of Labor Statistics expects that employment professional specialties in white collar occupations will expand faster than total employment (1982b, p. 35). This trend is of key importance to women who are concentrated in the professional specialty occupational groupings in these, although many female-dominated professions such as teaching will lag behind others in their rate of growth. Expected increases in professional specialty employment in 1990 range from 60.7 million to 64.7 million from a base of 48.6 million in 1978 (1982b, p. 35).

A key component within the professional specialties category is the service-producing industries. More than two-thirds of United States' workers are employed in the following service industries: transportation, communications, public utilities, finance, insurance, real estate, wholesale and retail trade, services, and government. Service workers will continue to be the fastest growing segment of the economy. It is projected that service-producing industries will employ an even greater proportion of the work force during the 1980's (1982b, p. 8).

Projections for the period between 1982 and 1995 suggest that nearly

75 percent of all new jobs will come from service-producing industries. Within this area, a variety of fields is expected to witness substantial increases in employment. For instance, business services which include consultants, personnel services, public relations, security systems, and computer and data processing services will see employment double to 6.2 million by 1995; the "miscellaneous" service category which includes medical care, business services, recreation, and hotels will provide one of every three new jobs by 1995. In fact, these services will represent 25 percent (31 million) of all new jobs generated in the next decade (Personick, 1983). Professional services which include engineers, lawyers, accountants, and architects will add 850,000 new jobs; while health care will employ 3 million new persons by 1995, or 12 percent of all new jobs generated during the decade (Personick, 1983).

As economic conditions change, certain categories of occupational skills will be required to meet expanded demand and to replace workers as the need for professional and technical workers, managers, and administrators greatly increases. Over the past twenty years, the professional and technical group has been one of the fastest growing occupational categories. Between 1966 and 1978, employment in this group increased almost twice as fast as it did in all occupations. By 1990, employment here is projected to continue to rise faster than in all occupations, but at a slower rate than previously. It is projected that there will be eight million new job openings for persons in this category (BLS, 1982b, p.8). Recent projections to 1995 further emphasize that there will be broad changes in the occupational structure favoring more

highly-educated workers. Silvestri, et al (1983) estimate that employment for professional and technical workers will increase faster than total employment and will account for a greater proportion of total employment over the 1982-1995 period.

Despite this anticipated increase in professional and technical jobs, there will be major differences among specific fields. Employment in most medical and health occupations is projected to expand very rapidly (e.g., there will be an estimated 610,000 job openings for geriatric social workers by 1990) (Rubin, 1984, p. 59). Continued population growth, the grazing of the American population and expansion of health care insurance coverage are expected to increase the demand for health care workers. Silvestri, et al (1983:45) project an additional 642,000 jobs for registered nurses and a 49% increase in the number of registered nurses between 1982 and 1995. Growth in the teaching occupations is not expected to occur as uniformly. Employment of secondary, college, and university teachers is expected to decrease as an indirect result of the decline in births that occurred in the 1960's and 1970's (BLS, 1982b). The increase in the number of children born since 1976 is expected to affect demand for other levels of teachers significantly. During 1982-95, employment of preschool teachers is projected to increase by more than 40 percent. Demand for kindergarten and elementary school teachers will also increase substantially. The demand for secondary school teachers, however, is not expected to increase until after 1990; between 1982-1990, the number of secondary school teachers is expected to decline (Silvestri, 1983, p. 46).

The need for personnel in administrative and managerial capacities is

expected to continue to grow substantially. It is estimated that between 1980 and 1990 this group will grow from 9.4 million to between 10.6 and 11.3 million or by 13 to 21 percent (BLS, 1982b, p. 8). This growth plus the need to replace existing personnal will create more than 7 million job openings by 1990. The demand for salaried managers will continue to grow as corporations increasingly rely on trained management specialists. In addition, some researchers have pointed out that the usual pool of talent for managerial positions may be decreasing (Brown, 1981, p.19). A decline in the number of qualified male candidates for these positions will result in corporations recruiting from relatively unutilized sources of managerial talent, the largest of which is the female population.

At present, women are starting to make inroads into the high technology areas, especially computer technology. Between 1982 and 1995, employment in high technology industries is expected to increase faster than total employment. Given the relative small size of these industries to date, however, their contribution to total job growth will be small (Personick, 1983:29). Within the high-tech industries, computer and data processing services and research and development laboratories are expected to exhibit the highest annual rates of increase at 5.2% and 3.9% respectively (Personick, 1983, pp. 31-32). According to a 1982 survey, women comprise 25 percent of the programmers, systems analysts and systems engineers. These occupations are considered first level for computer specialists. Women represent 20 percent of the project managers who generally supervise a small group of professionals. These women earn from $24,000 to $50,000 per year. At the top of the hierarchy, women represent

only 15 percent of the MIS/DP (Management Information Service/Data Processing) programming managers. Compensation generally ranges from $30,000 to $80,000 (Martin, 1983, p. 103).

What functions within the computer industry offer significant opportunities for women? The Bureau of Labor Statistics predicts growth in all computer jobs, except keypunching, the job held by the majority of women working in the computer industry. The key areas for future growth are in the fields of systems design, data network communications, computer engineering, marketing, and management (Zimmerman, 1982, p.233). Another major growth area for women in data processing will be software applications, development, and technical support including management information systems, database administration, office automation, and telecommunications (Martin, 1983, p. 103).

It must be noted that many employment opportunities in science and engineering will depend upon the decisions of the federal government. Congressional decisions about funding environmental, energy, defense, and health care programs will affect the demand for scientists and engineers. As one writer has noted:

> It is important to remember when examining projections of supply and demand that there is a difference between demand and need. The difference is money. No matter how many scientists and engineers may be needed to accomplish some national objective, none can be hired until money is available for their service (Vetter, 1984, p. 73).

The implications of these future trends for the 35-54 age cohort suggest that there <u>will</u> be many expanded opportunities for career transitions by professional women. Many of these will be for individual

women making career transitions to improve their occupational status and/or earning potential. Others will result from the wholesale movement of both women and men from occupations rendered obsolete by technological innovations, economic changes and demographic trends. Therefore, career transitions will become increasingly characterisitc of mature women's work histories.

PART FIVE: SURVEY OF PROGRAMS PROMOTING CAREER TRANSITIONS FOR WOMEN

The purpose of this phase of the research was to obtain descriptive case data on career transition from individuals who have directed activities and programs that have promoted career transitions of women in the professions and to identify those successful elements of career transition for college-educated women 34-54 years old. Programs were also selected for study because they exemplified alternative strategies for promoting women's career transitions which might be fruitfully examined in future studies by analysis of actual participant outcomes. Follow-up information about program graduates is needed across the board by all of the programs visited. Longitudinal data are needed to determine the length of time the women spend in entry level positions, when and how they advance within organizations and corporations, their attrition and success rates, and if any entrepreneurial spin-off career ventures of the self-employed have resulted in a new generation of female executives enjoying commensurate salaries.

Career development programs and services that have been offered in the United States include community-based education programs, YWCA-sponsored courses, continuing education offerings in two- and four-year colleges and at universities leading to a certificate and/or degree, graduate and professional schools (law, dentistry, medicine), and programs at both independent and college- and university-affiliated women's

centers. An increasing number of nonprofit agencies are offering career development assistance as are for-profit business and corporations which provide services to facilitate career transition for women. Furthermore, there are also in-house career training and development opportunities offered by institutions and corporations to women with little or no training in business management, sales or marketing. With the increased efforts over the past 10-15 years to improve the status of women in the workplace, interest in and strategies for career advancement have both been accelerated. More and more women are seeking out the service of career-transition programs to benefit from the increased receptiveness to women's employment.

Because of the vast proliferation of programs to assist women in career change, the total number of programs and the total number of women who participate in such programs annually are difficult to determine. Nor is there a direct way to estimate how many college-educated women in the 35-54 cohort sought assistance for career change, received it, and then successfully embarked on a new career in any given year. U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics information on occupational transitions and job changes indicates where women have moved up the job ladder to supervisory or managerial positions or to a job requiring more skill (Rytina, 1983; Sehgal, 1984), but that information is generally at the aggregate level. (See data on 1980 census for Occupational Mobility.)

While varying degrees of demographic data, progress reports, and client follow-up information are compiled by colleges, universities, and other career development programs, a systematic procedure to determine the

elements of successful career transition in the cohort of this study based on participant outcomes is not readily available. For the purposes of this report, we sought to identify the elements of success in a selected set of programs that provide career development services for college-educated women by interviewing the directors and other program officials to learn from them what contributes to the success of women making a career transition. These programs were selected because they represent established efforts, all with seven or more years of experience in providing career development services for women. Twelve programs were investigated and nine were visited. They are: Adelphi Programs for Management for Women, Catalyst, CHART, Continuum, Ellen Morse Tishman Memorial Seminars, Options Resource and Career Center, Resource: Careers, Resource Center for Women, Women's Educational and Industrial Union, Ada Comstock Scholars Program, Post-Baccalaureate Program, and Pre-Medical and Allied Health Fields. The programs are a mix of degree and certificate granting instituitons, nonprofit and for-profit entrepreneurial programs. The entrepreneurial programs have largely been developed by women for women and compete with high-powered national career counseling chains such as Bernard Haldane Associates (Working Women, July, 1982). Increasingly, the programs studied in this report are finding that as much as 10 percent of their client base is comprised of male applicants.

Visits to the nine programs, Adelphi Programs for Management for Women, Catalyst, CHART, Continuum, Ellen Morse Tishman Memorial Seminars, Options Resource and Career Center, Resource: Careers, Resource Center for Women, and Women's Educational and Industrial Union, were scheduled after

introductory calls and letters were exchanged with the directors or acting officials of the career-transition programs. Interview meetings with the official representatives of the program lasted the better part of a day, and, in some cases, two days. Following the interview meetings, other key personnel and staff provided additional information and material. This phase of the visit often included a tour of the programs' facilities as well as an opportunity to view materials, library collections and other media used for course offerings. Classroom and seminar sessions on developing marketable job skills were also observed as well as group counseling and presentations by speakers bringing first-hand information about their employment experiences as public relations consultants, systems analysts, editors in large publishing houses and other fields of interest to the women in the career transition program.

Most of the career development programs visited appear to be addressing their program activities to women moving away from homemaking or from jobs in human services and government toward positions with wider growth opportunities. All of the programs described charge a fee that ranges from $25 for one career counseling session at the Women's Educational and Industrial Union to $3000 or more for tuition at the certificate/degree programs such as Adelphi University and Goucher College. Limited grants and loans are available in some of the programs.

The programs maintain some demographic data on the women that come to them seeking assistance to change careers. Single women who change careers comprise about one-fifth of the transitioners, and divorced, separated, and widowed women approximately one-third. The profile of the

average transitioner interested in entering the labor market or upgrading her position in 1984 was a white middle-class woman, 37 years old with a bachelor's degree and work experience in the most traditional fields for women, living in or near a large city, married with children between the ages of six and eighteen. One exception is the CHART/Sabathani program at the Sabathani Community Center in a south Minneapolis neighborhood. That program provides career planning and job search assistance for women with diverse, ethnic, and educational backgrounds.

Additionally, a growing number of career transitioners are the "trailing" spouse in a dual career marriage in which one partner has been recruited for employment, requiring the family's relocation to a new community.

While most of the programs had a few minorities, mainly black women, their numbers were very small. The Resource Center for Women in Palo Alto, California has an increasing number of Hispanic and Asian American women seeking career-transition assistance. The exact numbers on minority participation are not always readily available because not all of the programs maintained profile information every year by race. Whereas most programs cater to middle-class women, the CHART/Sabathani and Ada Comstock program at Smith College provide services to a more diverse income group. The Ada Comstock program, through the help of a special grant, has enabled women on Aid to Families with Dependent Children to benefit from this program.

Follow-up data on program participants were also not easy to obtain. Some programs maintain good follow-up data, organized by education

completed and former occupation, plus information about the new career. In other cases, the programs' data collection emphasis was more directed to program maintenance, field internships, and courses taken, with less emphasis on monitoring post-program employment. Monitoring career placement was seen as extremely time-consuming, and the energies of staff were more directed to the programmatic aspects of the agencies and servicing the new students. Follow-up information of individuals with new career positions were often shared and anecdotal records were readily available. Because of the lack of resources, the collection of systematic follow-up data for planning and development purposes was seen as a major and expensive task.

Three programs--the Ada Comstock Scholars Program, the Post-Baccalaureate Program in the Pre-Medical and Allied Health Fields at Bryn Mawr College, and the Goucher College Women's Management Development Program--were also investigated but not visited. They are included in this report because of their unique institutional commitment to assist women in making very marked and successful career changes, given their ages, financial resources and previous educational experiences.

Two of the programs, Smith College's Ada Comstock Program and the Goucher College Women's Management Development Program, are especially distinctive because they encourage and provide for a wide range of students. In both programs, a quarter or more of the students are over forty years of age. In 1985, ten percent of the women in the Smith program were over fifty years old. Like many continuing education programs at colleges and universities in the United States, women with children,

married, divorced, separated, and widowed who interrupted their college education in years past returned to complete their degree. The uniqueness of the Smith Program is that it has enabled welfare recipients, by way of a special grants program, to earn a degree, reduce unemployment, enrich and change their prospects for careers. The third model program discussed is the Bryn Mawr College post-baccalaureate premedical program. This program enables capable, mature women (and men) who have pursued nonscience careers to make successful transitions into medicine and allied health fields through courses and collaboration with medical schools participating with Bryn Mawr in this program.

The following is descriptive case material for each program.

A. Specific Programs

Adelphi Programs in Management for Women
School of Business Administration
Adelphi University
Garden City, Long Island
New York, NY 11530

Many working and nonworking women with undergraduate degrees in education and sociology do not seek administrative positions in finance, purchasing, systems analysis, personnel, marketing, office administration, and production, because they lack professional training in management. The award winning (2) Certificate Program in Management for Women, established by the School of Business Administration at Adelphi University, answers the

career demands of traditionally educated college women. This program is designed to aid recent college graduates who are entering the labor force for the first time or women returning to the labor force after time at home, as well as those who seek to upgrade skills for advancement in their career.

Currently, accessible opportunities in management now developing for women have created a need to train qualified women for administrative and executive positions. The Adelphi Certificate program combines basic courses of the Master of Business Administration with a field experience option. First- hand experience provided by on-the-site job training offers women in the program a chance to learn directly from the business environment while acquiring work experience. The twenty-four graduate credits earned in the Certificate Program are transferable to the Master of Business Administration degree of Adelphi University's School of Business Administration, upon the woman's acceptance into that program.

. The program in management for women celebrated its tenth anniversary at the end of the 1984 spring semester. Alumnae have entered a wide range of fields in business -- banking, sales, marketing, finance, development, human resources, accounting, etc. In 1984, a total of 98 women participated in the Certificate Program in Management for women. A third or more of the students' former or present occupations were in education, health, and social work. Since 1981, there has been a consistent pattern of 32 - 39% of the students in the 40 to over 50 age range. Graduates have reported that a very large part of the Women's Program's success is attributed to several important aspects of the program, the most important

being the field internship provided by major corporations. Additionally, the availability of a math review course, and tutoring for math and economic courses were viewed as keys to success by many women in the program. A highly-praised series of non-credit seminars regularly featured business executives, including women in successful careers, who discussed opportunities in their fields, as well as conditions women face in the business world.

Catalyst
14 East 60th Street
New York, NY 10022

Catalyst, a nonprofit organization holds a leadership position in identifying and meeting the needs associated with career advancement of women. Since 1962, Catalyst has promoted the full participation of women in business and the professions. By serving as an informational resource, Catalyst has helped change the attitudes and practices of the corporate community to facilitate the advancement of women. Through numerous programs Catalyst helps women to recognize hurdles and find successful means for career advancement, thus enabling companies to benefit from a growing reserve of talented women for the work force.

Catalyst serves a wide variety of women that includes high school students and undergraduates, recent graduates as well as professional and reentry women. These constituencies and others interested in making career transitions b[illegible]fit from the Catalyst production of numerous publications on career options. Additionally, women have benefited from the Catalyst

Upward Mobility Program, work with corporations that has resulted in better identification and resolution of problems and assimilation of women into the corporate culture. Catalyst publications serve as a major resource for other organizations providing career information for women. The Catalyst National Network of Resource Centers links women's organizations across the country and provides client referral information in the form of special reports and publications. This nationwide network, composed of more than 200 independent, campus, nonprofit, and private organizations provides services including career counseling, job placement, and referral sources. Each of these centers, in turn, works with thousands of women reentering the workforce or seeking career change or advancement.

CHART

Wesley Temple Building #900

123 East Grant Street

Minneapolis, MN 55403

CHART is a nonprofit corporation that provides personal growth, career development and employment services to women in a supportive professional and information-intensive environment.

CHART offers a variety of programs and services that recognize the unique set of circumstances surrounding women's careers. They include programs ranging from a two-day personal growth workshop which helps women develop confidence, clarify values and set goals to longer 6-12 week job search workshops which help women conduct a proactive job search by training them in gathering information, interviewing and negotiation for

employment. Founded in 1976, CHART has served almost 8,000 women. CHART serves a broad population of women with a variety of work experiences. One unique CHART program is CHART/Sabathani, an outreach program begun in 1980 providing career planning and job search assistance. It has served over 1700 women with diverse ethnic and educational backgrounds, living in the metropolitan area in need of subsidized or free services.

The CHART CAREERS program is one that has assisted college-educated women seeking career transition. During the period 1981-1984, more than 150 women have been served through the CHART CAREERS program. This 12 week program was designed to provide college-educated women with an orientation to the realities of a career in business. Strategies that were most helpful in assisting the participants through the career transition process included a combination of personal growth, career/life planning, career management, and business realities workshops, seminars, and a lecture series. Job information, informational interview contacts, resume preparation, and individual career counseling also have contributed to the success of the program.

CHART also provides corporations with dual-career relocation assistance. This service is available to individuals, as well as entire relocating divisions of corporations. A prospective or transferring employee who is in a dual career relationship often has a partner that faces crucial career decisions. CHART's spouse assistance program provides job search and career planning for the recently relocated professional accompanying the transferred employee.

Continuum

785 Centre Street

Newton, MA 02158

Since 1974, Continuum, a licensed nonprofit, private school for adults, has been serving women seeking career change and advancement. The Continuum program is based on supervised internships, career development counseling, and management development workshops. Continuum students participate in two nine-week internships, some of which result in salaried job offers. More than 500 business, industrial, government, and nonprofit organizations make up the list of sites where supervised interns gain on-the-job experience in entry level management or administrative positions.

Through counseling, students develop realistic career goals and enhanced self-confidence. Peer interactions and support are fostered by group meetings where new work experiences and concerns are shared. Weekly support groups provide a peer setting, where students discuss and share concerns about work, learn from one another's experiences, and develop new professional patterns. A variety of workshops and seminars are also offered to assess vocational skills as well as develop new ones; some of these are communication effectiveness, organizational structure and function analysis, financial analysis, and computer skills.

In 1984, forty-seven women were enrolled in the Continuum Program. Ninety percent were women between the ages of 35-54, and 76% were women with baccalaureate degrees. They included reentry women, career changers, and recent college graduates. Because of the Continuum training and its

well-established internship opportunities, former teachers, nurses, social workers, and librarians have made career transitions to become marketing executives, medical equipment salespeople, public relations specialists, and software designers, respectively. Continuum has aided former volunteers, sales clerks and secretaries in job transition that resulted in new careers as personnel managers, corporate salespeople, and administrators.

The job placement rate for alumnae within four months of graduation ranges from 60 to 90%. A revolving loan fund is supported by contributions and provides financial aid for about a quarter of each class. The loan fund enjoys a zero default rate.

The Ellen Morse Tishman Memorial Seminars
Hunter College
Roosevelt House
49 East 65th Street
New York, NY

The Ellen Morse Tishman Seminars began in 1974 and are offered under the auspices of Hunter College of the City University of New York Counseling and Placement Office. Ten weekly sessions during the fall and spring semesters are offered annually. The Tishman Seminars are advertised in the New York Times for the college-educated woman with family responsibilities who is considering entering or reentering the job market. A fee is charged for the seminars. The seminars focus on helping each participant examine the possibilities of change in her life whether through

a continued full-time commitment to family responsibilities, volunteer work, graduate study, or paid employment. Since 1974, approximately 200 women have completed the seminars. The seminar group size has ranged from 12-15 participants each semester. By exploring options, improving self-image, and examining job market realities through panel discussions with working women, Tishman Seminar participants are given the opportunity to evaluate ways of integrating career, family life, education, and other areas of interest.

The Seminars are structured in such a way as to foster a supportive environment. The first half of each session consists of a panel of role model speakers from various occupations including computer technology, public relations, advertising, communications, and financial management featuring women who have made a successful career transition. During the ten-week period the Tishman seminar participants meet and personally visit with 36-40 women that have "made it" professionally. Many of the role model presenters have made the transition from homemaker to career woman and can provide first hand information on how it was achieved. Personal vignettes detailing how the role models succeeded professionally dealing with family adjustments, child care issues, graduate school and business training, divorce and even death of a partner or spouse are shared. During the remainder of each seminar session participants are involved in a group counseling process of self-assessment of skills, values, and interests, confidence-building, and practice in job seeking skills including constructing a marketable resume, developing interview techniques, learning about salary information, and maintaining a useful

network of colleagues and associates. Individual career services are also available to the participants.

In a 1982 follow-up study of Tishman Seminar participants, the age range of the respondents was 30-54 years with a mean age of 41.3. Typically, the participant was a woman with family responsibilities, college-educated and considering returning to work; however, in recent years the program has expanded to include about 10% of women without a college degree and women who are underemployed and unemployed (i.e. laid-off teachers and those changing career fields and starting over). The 1982 study indicated that 67% of the alumnae were employed.

The factors for success reported by participants include identifying skills, clarifying decisions, goal identification, bolstered confidence and improved self-image, skill in resume writing, exposure to careers and helpful career resources, and a supportive network of associates.

Options Resource and Career Center
1200 Blalock, #109B
Houston, TX 77055

Options Resource Center was launched in 1978 to help individuals change careers. The early years at Options found a great deal of attention devoted to assisting women develop job search skills. In 1980, Options Career Center opened as a career development service for women reentering the work force or changing careers.

Successful strategies that have assisted individuals enhance or initiate career changes include a variety of small group sessions that

encourage students to assess their own skills and abilities. From their assessments, winning resumes are developed for focused job market research. Convincing interview techniques using video taping and playback are then designed for confidence-building in the career search. Seminar series on related topics include assertiveness-training, image-building, communications--verbal and non-verbal, stress management, work relations, decision-making and negotiating.

Options provides spouse assistance service to the "trailing" spouse of newly recruited or transferred professional in corporations. Additionally, career management, outplacement, and professional development services are available to corporations. Businesses and corporations also benefit from the resource referral services offered by Options that assist families with child care resources, alcohol and drug abuse counselors, and psychotherapists. A resume bank is available and open to employers which facilitates job-referral for qualified candidates.

Options' great strength has been reported as "bridging the gap of change" to help individuals build self-confidence and set personal and professional goals while learning techniques for career transition. This is achieved through group support and cooperation, shared information, self-improvement, and continued membership in the "ever-growing" Options family which maintains a support system and also is the core for a continuing active career network. It is not unusual for an Options "graduate" to be guest speaker to a new class of students.

In 1984, 300 women were served by Options and eighty percent of the clients were college graduates--ages ranging from 35-45 years. Half of

the 1984 Options participants were reentering the labor force and 80-90% of this group were women that were divorced, separated, or facing other major personal adjustments necessitating full-time work.

Resource: Careers
1258 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland, OH 44115

Since 1974, Resource: Careers has been providing career development and referral services to professional women in the Northeastern Ohio area. A nonprofit organization originally funded by the Cleveland Foundation, it is currently financed by client and corporate membership fees. By providing a number of career support services, Resource: Careers enables professional women to maximize their potential in securing positions that recognize their education and training, experience, and competencies. A major contributing factor to the leadership position Resource: Careers maintains may be attributed to the results of a two-year grant to study the changing work force and emergence of dual career families, awarded in 1982 by the Cleveland Foundation. The grant enabled Resource: Careers to survey 156 corporate organizations (manufacturing, service, health care, utilities, and other) and 392 couples in the Northeastern Ohio region. The results of this study provide clear and realistic information about the employment market as well as data on family issues for women seeking information about career transition. Additionally, the data will assist corporations as they continue to address topics such as child care, time and stress management, and maternity/paternity leave that impact on corporate business policies

for recruiting, relocation, and employee benefits.

Resource:Careers offers a formalized Spouse Employment Assistance Program to corporations recruiting and relocating professionals in the Cleveland area. Tailored to meet the needs of each individual spouse the major components of the program are job-search counseling, resume preparation, referrals to companies, contacts and job listings. This service to corporations facilitates the movement and recruitment of new or transferred employees as well as promoting employee relations.

Career and outplacement counseling is offered to those employees of corporations. Workshops and seminars in response to corporate needs related to dual career and family issues, i.e., changing work force, relocation, child care options and flextime, are also available.

In 1984, approximately 350 individuals sought career development and referral services. Ten percent were men and it is expected that their number will increase. Fifty-four percent of the total clients were over 35 years of age. Three-quarters of all individuals served had college degrees and twenty-four percent were former teachers. Strategies recognized as most successful for facilitating transition were reality counseling, enabling individuals to become more knowledgeable about one's self, developing self marketing skills (resume writing and interviewing skills), and properly assessing the kinds of career change that are possible.

Resource Center For Women
445 Sherman Avenue
Palo Alto, CA 94306

Employment and career counseling, workshops, and library resources are the core components of the Resource Center for Women, a nonprofit career planning and employment center serving the Bay Area since 1973.

Sixty-six percent of the 1200 monthly users of the Center have college degrees and thirty-four percent are women in the 36 to 54 age cohort. Seventy-five percent of that group have had work experience in occupations traditionally held by women including social work and teaching in elementary and secondary schools. An increasing number of clients are women employed in the high tech industry seeking assistance and information for career advancement.

The employment resources offered at the Center are: resume writing and interviewing seminars; job listings which include several thousand jobs, entry level to professional categorized each month by occupation; employers' forum which consists of presentations by personnel representatives about their companies' employment opportunities and organizational structures; and a career information series, consisting of panelists focusing on different career fields. Videotaping of the panels allows clients to view, individually, particular career interests. Workshops and courses frequently offered include Self Assessment for Career Planning, Career Paths in High Technology, Careers in Personnel and Marketing, Assertiveness Training for Women, Developing Clear Writing Skills and Winning the Money Game. Library resources maintain up-to-date employment information and economic conditions for the nine-county San Francisco Bay Area.

Clients rank the personalized support and self-confidence they gain

from the Resource Center for Women staff as contributing to their career success. Providing reassurance along with a realistic outlook on the job market are also credited as major strengths of the Center. A collection of videotapes of the Resource Center for Women's Success Stories created by individuals and panels of women further attests to the positive assistance the Resource Center for Women has provided. These tapes serve as role model and background information for new clients.

Women's Educational and Industrial Union
356 Boylston Street
Boston, MA 02116

Founded in 1877, the Women's Educational and Industrial Union's goal has been to assist women in solving their problems and enriching their lives. Within the first year of the Union's organization, a department--the Business Agency--was developed that served as a job clearinghouse and employment bureau for women in search of work. Currently those services and other career development programs are offered by the Career Services department. Additional WEIU services include shops, social services, homemaker services, a free career library, and referral services for employment-related inquiries.

In 1984, more than 12,000 people used the Resource Room Library, a walk-in career library. The Career Services department provided more than 1200 people, of which approximately 2 percent were male clients, career counseling and placement services on a fee-for-service basis. Fifty-five to sixty percent of the Career Services users were between ages 35 and 54

years, and about 70 percent of them were college graduates.

In addition to the counseling and placement services, a structured series of programs and workshops are conducted by the Union to help job hunters and career changers write resumes and develop interviewing skills. One program, "Bridging: A Workshop for Career and Job Changers," is presented to help job and career changers identify new areas of opportunity which are appropriate to their skills, interests, and job priorities, enabling creative and realistic transitions. Other workshops include topics such as "How to Organize a Job Search," and "Management Skills for Women," an eight-hour course which provides practical training for new or aspiring managers. The topics include delegation, negotiation, conflict management, communication, managing your boss and career development. The 6-week workshop, "Support Group for Older Workers," investigates issues of unemployed workers 45 or older with recent work experinces.

Programmatic activities include counseling groups exploring career options and decision-making processes. Popular careers in real estate, university settings, and publishing have been examined from the perspective of entry level opportunities, salary ranges, and potential for career development. Many business and organizations utilize the job referral services of WEIU as well as their other resources that provide information and assistance to enrich the lives of women.

Ada Comstock Scholars Program
Smith College
Northampton, MA

The Ada Comstock Scholars Program is designed to enable women who interrupted college or never went to college to earn a degree, develop a career, and in some cases reduce unemployment and leave welfare rolls.

In 1984, there were 150 Ada Comstock scholars who ranged in age from two younger than twenty-five to eight women older than fifty. The "Ada's," as they are referred to, are academically capable, highly motivated, and successful students at this prestigious and academically rigorous women's college. Twenty percent of all Comstock scholar graduates, since the program began in 1975, have earned Phi Beta Kappa and thirty-four percent have been awarded honors. What is even more unique and special about the program is that "Ada's" represented a wide diversity of backgrounds, including a teacher's assistant, a former nurse going to college after years away from studying, and women who qualify for AFDC. These students receive the benefit of a special six year grant made to Smith in 1979 from the Stewart Mott Foundation of Flint, Michigan for the education of women on welfare. Age differences between "Ada's," some of whom happen to be divorced women who receive welfare payments to help support their children, and traditional undergraduates do not appear to block interaction; in fact, professors have reported "Ada's" add experiences to classes and can reflect on history which 18-19 year olds only know from television and textbooks, e.g., the Korean War, civil rights struggles, and the Vietnam War (Boston Globe, April 1, 1984).

Goucher Management Institute

Women's Management Development Program

Goucher College

Towson, MD 21204

Since 1979, adult women with bachelor's degrees who are either returning to work or changing careers have found in the Goucher Management Institute a source of knowledge and confidence to facilitate their career transitions in the business world. The combination of a six month curriculum that provides an overview of business principles and practices with a three month, full-time, paid internship in a local business allows students to demonstrate their abilities and explore new careers.

High on the list of distinguishing characteristics of the management development program is the number of mature women enrolled in it. Twenty-five percent of the students were 45 years of age or older. Given the record of success for placement in the work place following participation in the program, it appears that employers have found here a valuable resource.

In addition to the management development program, students may prepare for entry level programming positions in the computer field. The Women's Program in Information Systems offers courses for credit as well as noncredit lectures to develop computer language and theory skills.

The Post-Baccalaureate Program in the Premedical and Allied Health Fields

Bryn Mawr College

Bryn Mawr, PA 19010

More than 300 career changers who want to become doctors have participated in the Bryn Mawr post-baccalaureate pre-medical program. It

is a rigorous preparatory program lasting one or two years, depending upon the individual's needs. For holders of nonscience degrees, the program provides training in courses such as physics, chemistry, and biology to assist those in need of additional training before applying to schools of medicine, dentistry, and veterinary medicine.

In 1984, the class was 61% women. Older students in the program are in their late thirties with 27 the average age. Some of the former careers of premedical/dental program students include registered nurses, social workers, teachers, lawyers, and Chinese studies majors. Cooperating medical schools provide openings each year for the students. Four of the cooperating schools are Dartmouth Medical School, Hahnemann University School of Medicine, the Medical College of Pennsylvania, and University of Rochester School of Medicine. The University of Pennsylvania School of Dental Medicine is also a cooperating institution. The Bryn Mawr Post-Baccalaureate program in the premedical and allied health fields, one of a dozen such programs in the country, enjoys one of the highest placement records with more than 90 percent of the students accepted by medical schools.

B. Factors Contributing to the Success of Career Transition Programs

What emerges from the review of twelve programs that assist, enhance, and advance career and job opportunities for women in professions is a common theme. This theme suggests that if career changing women seek assistance from people who are interested and supportive, knowledgeable

about the world of work, and ready to assist them as they embark upon change, they will respond affirmatively to the experience. This theme is reiterated time and again by all of the program directors interviewed who commented that career changers will gain additional confidence from the team spirit of others trying to initiate change.

The winning combination for success and results in career change--and here we rely more on anecdotal records--is an encouraging and supportive group environment and resources to equip the career changer with realistic and highly-refined new skills for self marketing. This common theme provides the very core element for successful career transition, however other very specific elements were identified.

We believe that directing services solely to the individual who is preparing to change careers does not guarantee success. Services must be provided to corporations who will hire career transitioners and also to their families and spouses. Programs which focus only on preparing individuals miss an important part of the picture. To assure success, not only must individuals be ready to make a career transition, but businesses which hire them must be ready to employ them. Without proper supports and acceptance, an opportunity to change careers may be only an opportunity to fail. In this regard it is crucial, not only to create acceptance for the mature woman career transitioner at work but also during the process of transition. Therefore we highlight separately services to individuals, corporations and families.

We have gleaned from the programs we surveyed the following key elements which make for a succesful career transition program:

Services Targeted to Individuals:

Personal growth and confidence building

- career/life planning
- peer intraction and support
- image building
- stress management
- assertiveness training
- decision making and goal setting

Skills and knowledge enhancement

- supervised field experience, internships on-the-job training
- math and computer literacy
- communication skills, verbal and non-verbal
- management training
- business writing
- financial analysis
- decision making and negotiating skills
- busines realities
- leadership training

Successful self-marketing techniques

- assessment of skills and abilities and aptitude testing
- individualized career counseling
- resume preparation

- interviewing techniques
- job search strategies
- a network of colleagues and associates
- job market research
- career management

Services Targeted to Corporations:

- candidate referral
- spouse employment assistance
- outplacement
- consultation on corporate policies and programs on:
  - relocation
  - recruitment and retention of a diverse labor force
  - parental leave
  - child care
  - benefits
  - dual career issues

Services Targeted to Families and Spouses:

- dual career issues
- relocation counseling
- spousal assistance
- integrating paid work and family work

The elements were not necessarily present in each and every program investigated, however they comprise a composite prototype of a successful

model program which represents the state of the art in facilitating career transitions for mature women in professions.

PART SIX: FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The primary findings of this report are 1) that given technological, economic, and demographic trends which are pulling women into the labor force in increasing numbers, for longer periods of time, career transitions will become a frequent and anticipated aspect of the average woman's work history; 2) a successful career transition program needs to incorporate services to three constituents, not only the career transitioner but also the employers who will hire them, and their families and spouses during the career transition process.

In the report we note that contemporary career transitions are mechanisms of occupational change whose primary purposes are: 1) to facilitate the movement of surplus workers from declining occupations to growing occupations, to correct supply and demand imbalances; 2) to channel unemployed workers from any occupation into positions with growth potential; and 3) to facilitate the movement of women stuck in dead-end jobs to those with higher pay and greater opportunity. However, we have also demonstrated that among the four major female professions, only one, teaching, required a significant number of outplacements for its mature workers. The other three--social work, library science, and nursing--are occupations where real growth is expected in the future or which currently offer employment opportunities. Moreover, even in teaching, the employment crisis of the 1970's appears to have ended, and this profession now appears poised for future growth. Therefore, career transitions should not be seen solely as mechanisms for moving women from female-dominated professions where salary and career development opportunities have not been commensurate with other professions, given the educational and training

investments necessary to maintain a professional standing. Society needs teachers, social workers, nurses, and librarians. If these occupations were valued by their real social utility rather than by the gender of their occupants, individual women would not be seeking other professions with greater earning potential and occupational status.

An investigation of twelve career development programs yielded the following components for a successful career transition program: A supportive group environment with resources to enhance the mature female career transitioner's self-marketing skills, along with services to corporations who will hire these women, and services to the women's families and spouses during the process of transition. These are key elements of a successful career transition program. These key elements were gleaned from interviews with program directors and anecdotal reports because systematic data to compare program outcomes were lacking. Follow-up information about program graduates is needed across the board by all of the programs visited. Longitudinal data are needed to determine the length of time the women spend in entry level positions, when and how they advance within organizations and corporations, their attrition and success rates, and, if any, entrepreneural spin-off career ventures of the self-employed that have resulted in a new generation of female executives enjoying commensurate salaries.

Recommendations

The recommendations we have formulated are intended to insure that the increased rate of career transition which we predict will characterize

contemporary mature women's professional lives and be beneficial to them and to society at large. The recommendations, which combine both policy and research initiatives, are presented below:

1. As imbalances in the supply and demand for the work force in an occupation becomes evident, the federal government should initiate actions to establilsh linkages with the state and local governments as well as private corporations to retrain surplus professionals and to place them in jobs where there continues to be a demand for their skills. To do this effectively there needs to be:

a) a body of knowledge on how large-scale career transitions from a declining occupation are best achieved. We recommend an intensive retrospective case study of the teaching profession which in the past ten years experienced a decline in demand requiring large numbers of teachers to mak; career transitions, and

b) a controlled study with an adequate follow-up component of participant outcomes of existing career transition programs to arrive at a validated set of variables and parameters of what constitutes a successful career transition program.

2. A government-sponsored thrust to insure that women from all social classes, races, ethnic backgrounds, and regions have access to and a reasonable means to succeed in career transition opportunities. To do this effectively there needs to be:

a) basic knowledge on how to recruit women of diverse backgrounds into career transition programs and on how to structure the programs to assure a reasonable success rate for women from diverse

backgrounds, and

b) a subsidized loan or grants program to women of limited financial means, either through direct subsidies to individuals or tax advantages to public and private sponsors.

3. The federal government should sponsor initiatives designed to encourage public and private employers to recruit, hire, and advance mid-life women who make career transitions. To do this effectively there needs to be:

a) a commitment from the top which can be achieved by forums with chief executive officers of public and private corporations explaining to them how maximizing the potential of mid-life women instead of underutilizing their talents will increase productivity, hence profitability.

b) a federally-sponsored awards program to recognize successful corporate efforts for advancing the careers of mid-life women.

c) a federally sponsored initiative to publicize as models exemplary practices and programs which have been effective in advancing mid-life women's careers.

4. The federal government should facilitate public and private institutions to sponsor basic research on the short-term and long-term consequences of family relocation on mid-life women's career development. The timeliness of this recommendation cannot be overstressed in light of the federal government's recent initiative in providing third-party relocation assistance to its employees.

Conclusion

This report confirms the belief that sequential careers are very much a part of contemporary life and will continue to be so. At this time in our society there are often compelling reasons that precipitate career transitions for mid-life professional women, who require much help and support to achieve the transitions. The recommendations in this study will serve as needed assistance for current mid-life women seeking career development help. In future years the present causal factors for career transition may change. Indeed, sociologists tell us that mid-life professionals will look forward to expected career changes after achieving a level of success in their chosen field. It is important now to identify the successful examples of career transitions, so that the prospect of "what is to come" for others can be well understood and effective practices put into place.

FOOTNOTES

1 Louis (1980), who provides a more psychological approach to career transition, defines it as changing one's work role or changing one's orientation to the current role. Her transition types fall under two general categories, interrole and intrarole transitions. Although intrarole transitions are more difficult to identify than interrole transitions, they can also have a significant an effect on one's career pattern.

2 Adelphi University received the $10,000 1980 Innovation Award from the American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business. Since 1974, over 400 women ranging in age from late 20's to late 50's, most with no previous experience have been awarded certificates from this program. The American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business (AACSB) is a not-for-profit corporation of more than 700 educational institutions, corporations, and other organizations devoted to the promotion and improvement of higher education in business administration and management. Organized in 1916, AACSB is recognized as the sole accrediting agency for baccalaureate and master degree programs in business administration by the U.S. Department of Education, and by the Council of Postsecondary Accreditation.

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